

“WHAT EVERY STUDENT SHOULD KNOW AND BE ABLE TO DO”:
THE MAKING OF CALIFORNIA’S FRAMEWORK, STANDARDS, AND TESTS
FOR HISTORY-SOCIAL SCIENCE

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Contents

Introduction California’s Standards-Based Reforms for History-Social Science Education	1
Chapter 1 Expanded, Revised...Shelved: The History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools	15
Chapter 2 “The Essential Core Academic Content that Every Student Should Know”: The History-Social Science Content Standards for California Public Schools	55
Chapter 3 Measuring Standards: The California Standards Tests for History-Social Science	107
Chapter 4 Misalignment: Looking Across Cases	145
Chapter 5 Moving Forward	161
Appendix Methods and Materials	171
Notes	180

List of Figures

Introduction

Figure 1: Grade 8 Released Test Questions #1 and #90 – p. 4

Chapter One

Figure 1.1: Sample Unit Description: 1987 History-Social Science, Eighth Grade – p. 24

Figure 1.2: Sample Content Standard –p. 28

Figure 1.3: Length of New Chapters – p. 41

Figure 1.4: 7th Grade World History Course Description Sections – p. 45

Figure 1.5: Growth of Course Descriptions – p. 47

Figure 1.6: Excerpt of High School Group Editing Eleventh Grade Course Descriptions – p. 49

Chapter Two

Figure 2.1: Sample 6th Grade Standard: First Preliminary Draft – p. 66

Figure 2.2: Example of Track Changes – p. 71

Figure 2.3: Council of Islamic Education’s suggestions italicized –p. 74

Figure 2.4: History Committee Attendance – p. 77

Figure 2.5: Example of “Exemplars” List: Second Draft – History-Social Science Standards – p. 82

Figure 2.6: Edits Made by JCRC to Standard 6.3 in Italics – p. 86

Figure 2.7: Proposed opening standards for the 6th and 7th Grade: First Draft – p. 89

Figure 2.8: The Evolution of Standard 8.9.1 – p. 102

Figure 2.9: Additive Consensus – p. 103

Chapter Three

Figure 3.1: Sample CAP Items: Sample Knowledge Questions – p. 113

Figure 3.2: CAP – History-Social Science Critical Thinking Skills – p. 114

Figure 3.3: Sample Critical Thinking Questions – p. 115

Figure 3.4: Sample Items – 5th Grade CLAS Exam – p. 119

Figure 3.5: Sample Items – 10th Grade CLAS Exam – p. 119

Figure 3.6: 2007 11th Grade Cut Scores and Proficiency Levels – p. 133

Figure 3.7: California Standards Test Questions Featuring E.G. Information – p. 140

Chapter Four

Figure 4.1: Sources of Misalignment – p. 148

Figure 4.2: Policy Actors – p. 153

Figure 4.3: Procedures – p. 156

Introduction

California's Standards-Based Reforms for History-Social Science Education

Unintended Consequences?

This project began, in part, during my second year as an eighth grade history-social studies teacher in 1998. I was teaching in a Bay Area middle school with a brand new teaching credential and a master's degree in history. Half way through the year, during a district curriculum meeting, I received a copy of the *History-Social Science Content Standards for California Public Schools* - the new state guidelines for what to teach. I had been using the *History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools* as a reference to develop curriculum. For eighth grade, students studied American history from the Revolutionary War to the start of World War I.

Unlike the framework that provided an eight-page narrative describing the units and themes for the year, the standards were formatted as an outline of information. The content followed the same sequence of units described in the framework and included some of the same historical events and figures. As a recent graduate student with a knack for historical trivia, I found the content engaging, yet I blushed at how unfamiliar I was with several of the topics. I would struggle, for example, to “explain the policy significance of John Q. Adams’s Fourth of July 1821 Address” or the “roles” that “Roger Sherman, Governour Morris, and James Wilson” played in writing the Constitution. And while I knew a little bit about most of the standards, I was not sure if I could adequately “explain how the ordinances of 1785 and 1787 privatized national resources and transferred federally owned lands into

private holdings, townships, and states,” or “describe the role” that Annie Bidwell played as a “pioneer women.”¹

For the next two school years, I loosely organized my instruction around the standards as I had with the framework. I followed them chronologically and covered them selectively. I used the standards primarily as a list of the specific events and people to draw from in developing curriculum for the year. However, I never managed to get past Reconstruction. I did take some comfort in the fact that I did not have to teach the seventh grade curriculum – world history from A.D. 500-1789 - which included stuff that I knew next to nothing about: William Tyndale, the Council of Trent, or Gregory VII – not to mention the Tang, Sung, and Ming dynasties, the Ghana and Mali empires, Prince Shotoku, or Murasaki Shikibu’s *Tale of Genji*.

In 2001, I left California and took a job teaching in Chicago Public Schools. I taught seventh and eighth grade history and language arts in Chicago for three years and returned to the Bay Area for the 2004 school year, accepting an eighth grade history position in South San Francisco.

In my three-year absence from California both federal and state accountability policies had been implemented throughout the state. The school where I began teaching was one of the first to adopt a “program improvement plan” as mandated by the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) policy. During my first week on the job, I received a binder of testing materials for the eighth grade California Standards Test for History-Social Science, administered the previous spring for the second time. The test covered the sixth, seventh, and eighth grade standards – history from the Paleolithic Era to the First World War. I was reminded throughout the year by school and district

administrators that, although the test only accounted for twenty percent of the school's "Academic Performance Index" - a single number ranging from 200 to 1000, calculated from a battery of test scores that largely determined a school's "status" - even a small improvement on the eighth grade history results could help get the school out of program improvement.

I worked closely with the state history standards during the two years that I taught in South San Francisco. What struck me as curious in my first teaching job became more problematic. The advent of the California Standards Tests made the names, dates, and events detailed by the standards less optional, and more prescriptive. The district now required teachers to include standards in all lesson plans and display the day's standard at the front of the room. The message was loud and clear: All instruction was to be standards-based, and all the standards were to be taught. Additionally, beyond trying to cover all eighty-one of the eighth grade standards, I was now responsible for reviewing sixth grade "Ancient Civilizations" along with the seventy-two, seventh grade standards.²

At a daylong workshop for all of the district's secondary history teachers, the district curriculum specialist and other eighth grade teachers encouraged me to spend two to three weeks preparing students for the test. We worked throughout the day making lists of content covered in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grade standards to use for review and received ninety sample test questions released by the California Department of Education drawn from the previous two years of testing.

After weeks of planning activities geared towards reviewing, identifying, and recalling over 100 historical names, events, and phenomena from across human

Figure 1: Grade 8 Released Test Questions #1 and #90³

<p>1) Why did Stone Age people practice slash-and-burn agriculture?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. to fulfill spiritual beliefs b. to make irrigation easier c. to drive away wild animals d. to clear land for farming 	<p>75) A large percentage of the immigrants who came to the United States during the late 19th and early 20th centuries settled in large cities because</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. most of them had lived in cities in their homelands. b. there were fewer and fewer farms in the United States. c. The growing industries were usually located in the cities. d. the government encouraged immigrants to settle in big cities.
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existence, and practicing test taking strategies with official sample questions and ones I had developed on my own, I began to question the assumption that this material constituted what “every student should know and be able to do” – a refrain I kept hearing from local, state, and federal administrators. Who made these determinations? Was the type of teaching and learning that these standards and tests seemed to promote what the California Department of Education intended?

California’s Standards-Based Reforms for History-Social Science

Having worked with the framework, the content standards, and the standards tests, I was unaware of how each helped establish California as a leader in standards-based reforms over the past twenty-five years. Written in large part by Diane Ravitch, the 1987 *History-Social Science Framework* marked an early and impressive victory for the history education reform movement that emerged as part of the larger effort to raise educational standards in the wake of *A Nation at Risk* (1983). It was the first state curriculum to place history at the center of the social sciences; it detailed a common course of study for all students in California and provided a guideline for state textbooks, assessments, and instructional materials. In doing so, the *Framework*

departed from decades of social studies education, helped spur the creation of national history standards, and provided a blueprint for other state departments of education to emulate. Today, according to the American Historical Association, thirty-two states have developed history-centered standards for their public schools.⁴

The *History-Social Science Content Standards for California Public Schools*, adopted by the California State Board of Education in 1998, were part of a national move towards standards-based, accountability reforms. As mandated, the standards aligned with the framework, but also assumed the framework's primary responsibility of defining the content of history classes throughout the state. The State Department incorporated the standards into the 2001 edition of the framework by listing grade level content standards after each of the framework's course descriptions.

Organizations such as the Fordham Foundation, Achieve Inc., and the American Federation of Teachers have continually awarded the California standards exemplary grades for their "rigor," "organization," and "clarity."⁵ The Fordham report, edited by conservative standards advocate Chester Finn, describes them as the "gold standard" for history-social science education, and Achieve uses them to benchmark other state standards documents.

First implemented in 2003, the California Standards Tests for History-Social Science constitute one of the most extensive state assessment programs for history-social science in the country. According to recent report conducted by the National History Education Clearinghouse, twenty-five states administer some form of social studies assessment. California, however, is one of the only states that conducts standards-based, history centered tests at three different grade levels.⁶ Developed by

the Education Testing Service (ETS), these multiple-choice tests align with the state history standards and are administered at the end of eighth, tenth, and eleventh grade. Every year, ETS and the Department of Education publish a technical report featuring hundreds of pages of data illustrating the validity and reliability of each California Standards Test.

A Research Agenda

While exploring what had been written about these curriculum and assessment documents, I made three discoveries that piqued my interest and helped focus a research agenda. First, after running a brief search on the nine members of the Academic Standards Commission's History-Social Science Committee (the group that developed the content standards) I was surprised to find that none of them were history teachers, professors, administrators, or curriculum specialists. In fact, an investment lawyer from San Francisco had chaired the committee. Second, the only article I found on the California Standards Tests mentioned in passing that a "staff primarily from Virginia" helped create the standards.⁷ I was intrigued and wanted to know more.

Third, I realized that the sample test questions released by the Department of Education included answer keys listing the standard that each question measured. I had overlooked this list while preparing students for the eighth grade test. I began cutting out test questions and pasting them next to the standards they measured. Juxtaposing the two was unsettling and illustrated the limits of these test questions. In

2003, for example, the California Standards Tests measured content standard 11.5.2, with a single multiple-choice question:

11.5.2: Analyze the international and domestic events, interests and philosophies that prompted attacks on civil liberties, including the Palmer Raids, Marcus Garvey's "back-to-Africa" movement, the Ku Klux Klan, and immigration quotas and the responses of organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Anti-Defamation League to those attacks.⁸

Marcus Garvey's program in the 1920s emphasized:

- a. vocational training
- b. a back-to-Africa movement
- c. integration into mainstream society
- d. separate-but-equal doctrines⁹

Beyond the skill mismatch - a standard calling for analysis and a question that appears to elicit little more than the ability to recall or associate - the content of this question is merely a drop in the ocean of the deeply contextualized, social and political history covered in the standard. Similarly, the following year, the state's tenth graders demonstrated proficiency of the standards' analysis skill HR4 – "Students construct and test hypotheses; collect, evaluate, and employ information from multiple primary and secondary sources; and apply it in oral and written presentations"¹⁰ - by working through this multiple choice question:

The streets were hot and dusty on the summer day. Stokers emerged from low underground doorways into factory yards, and sat on steps, on posts, and palings, wiping swarthy visages, and contemplating coals. The whole team seemed to be frying in oil. There was the stifling smell of hot oil everywhere.

The historical era most likely referred to in this quotation is the:

- a. Industrial Revolution
- b. Great Awakening
- c. French Revolution
- d. Enlightenment¹¹

It is unclear exactly what this question measures. It seems safe to say, however, that a student's selection of choice "a. Industrial Revolution" has little if anything to do with testing hypotheses, evaluating primary sources, or oral and written presentations.

At this point, I began refining the questions I had confronted in the classroom. How did California, a leader in educational reforms for history education over the past two decades, end up with a system of such poorly aligned standards and tests that reduce the *History-Social Science Framework* to a long list of names, dates, and facts spread across wide expanses of the past - precisely the type of curriculum that the 1987 framework sought to reform? What people made the decisions regarding the content and format of these documents and how were these decisions made?

To explore these questions, I set out to research and write a history of the California history-social science framework, standards, and tests. I planned to examine three periods and events in particular: the development and adoption of the *History-Social Science Framework* from 1985 to 1987; the development and adoption of the *History-Social Science Content Standards* between 1997 and 1998; and, the development of the *California Standards Tests for History-Social Science* from 2001-2004. I formulated more specific questions to guide my research and establish points of comparison between the framework, standards, and tests. These included:

- What were the goals and assumptions of the policy actors who created the framework, standards, tests, and accountability policies for history-social science education? How did policy actors define and frame issues, problems, and solutions related to developing these policies and documents?

- What were the processes involved in determining the content and format of the framework, standards and tests? How did political, pedagogical, and technical factors influence these processes and decisions? What other contextual or historical factors influenced the development of these documents?
- In what ways have goals, objectives, and content remained consistent across accountability documents and policies? How have they become inconsistent?

Studying Policy in Real Time

Early on in this research, current events changed my proposed study. In May 2008, the California Department of Education announced that it would be conducting a new adoption of the *History-Social Science Framework* – the first major revision of the framework since 1987. This provided me an opportunity to observe the making of the framework in real time, in the front row. Furthermore, in March 2009, just as the revision was getting started, SUNY press published James LaSpina’s “California in a Time of Excellence: School Reform at the Crossroads of the American Dream,” a book that included an excellent account of the 1987 framework adoption.¹² Retaining my original research questions, I decided to focus on the 2010 framework, rather than the 1987 edition. In February 2009, I attended the first meeting of the Curriculum Framework and Evaluation Committee (CFEC) – the twenty-member group charged with drafting the new edition of the *History-Social-Science Framework*. Between February and June, I observed and recorded all eighty hours of the CFEC’s five, monthly two-day meetings.

Methodology

This study explores California's standards-based reforms for history-social studies education over the past twenty-five years. In chapter one, I examine the adoption of the *2010 History-Social Science Framework*. I begin by highlighting the primary objectives of this process and then briefly trace the development of the framework over the past two decades. This history helps establish context and introduces the complex relationship between the framework and the content standards. I then turn to the 2010 adoption process and explore the interaction between the California Department of Education, the California Subject Matter Project (who won the contract to write the new framework), and the work of the CFCC in producing the present draft, through observations of committee meetings, interviews with committee members, writers, and employees of the Department of Education's Curriculum Division, along with analyses of different drafts of the framework. This portrait highlights both the systematic and ad hoc ways politics, pedagogy, educational research, and historiography helped shape the 2010 adoption. In all, this chapter chronicles the changing status and purpose of the *History-Social Science Framework* over the past two decades – from the state's premier curriculum document defining the content of all grade level courses, to its latest role as a support tool to help implement the state history standards.

Chapter Two features a detailed account of the *History-Social Science Content Standards for California Public Schools*. I focus on the work of the Academic Standards Commission's History-Social Science Committee and the small group of consultants who developed the standards between November 1997 and June 1998. I examine the influence of the 1987 framework and other state standards documents in

shaping the California standards, and how various individuals and interest groups from across the political spectrum helped determine the standards' content and organization. Moreover, I detail the political and pedagogical debates surrounding the work of the History-Social Science Committee, the limited role that the committee played, and the tremendous authority that one lead consultant had in drafting the standards.

This chapter draws from a rich, previously untapped, archive of materials on the work of the History-Social Science Committee: detailed minutes from all committee meetings; six different drafts of the history standards with tracked changes marking edits made to each draft; memos from the writing team and committee members; over sixty "expert reviews" of different drafts; full transcripts of five public hearings regarding the history standards; lists of edits made by the State Board of Education; and newspaper coverage from around the state. Additionally, several interviews with committee members and state department employees inform this chapter's analysis.

In several respects, the account I offer of the history standards runs counter to what little has been written about them. The few published accounts of this process claim the standards were developed by consensus, with little debate and considerable public oversight.¹³ My portrait, by contrast, shows how a small handful of consultants and politically appointed committee members - none of them history educators - navigated charged political and pedagogical issues, often with little oversight and below the public's radar, to determine the content of the standards.

In the third chapter, I turn my attention to the California Standards Tests for History-Social Science. I explore the historical, political, and institutional factors that

have helped determine the format of these tests. I trace California's assessment policies over the past 25 years – focusing on state tests for history-social science under the California Assessment Program (CAP) in the 1980s, the ill-fated California Learning Assessment System (CLAS) of the early 1990s, and the current Standardized Testing and Reporting (STAR) program, originated in 1999. This historical portrait explores the goals and assumptions of policy actors, test development processes, the content and results of state tests, and the rules and incentives involved in creating and implementing assessment policy.

In sum, I highlight how, over the past twenty-five years, responsibility for history-social science test development in California transferred from the Department of Education and state history educators to the Educational Testing Service (ETS). I examine how the political fall-out over CLAS influenced the format and development of the California Standards Tests. This is a story of how the amount of state history testing increased, while at the same time, the bar for how and what was tested lowered; how California moved from a state testing system of performance assessments aimed at cultivating critical thinking, to one that now features multiple-choice tests focused on the recall of factual content.

This chapter concludes with an examination of how the California Standards Tests align with history-social science content standards. Comparing test items with the standards they measure, I discuss the content and construct validity of the California Standards Tests. I also identify how these tests feature content that the History-Social Science Standards Committee intended to be optional and why this changes the nature of the standards.

On their own, the development of California's history-social science framework, content standards, and tests are illustrative and important cases of policymaking. Together, they provide an opportunity to compare cases and explore how and why these policy documents interact with and influence one another. In this study's fourth chapter, I discuss ways the new framework remains both pedagogically and historiographically at odds with the content standards and tests. This analysis draws upon typologies of policy instruments defined by Schneider and Ingram (1998) and McDonnell (2004), to examine how these documents are intended to operate and interact with each other, and why linking them within the state's accountability system exacerbates their differences and inconsistencies.¹⁴ I argue that rather than work together to promote history education, the framework, standards, and tests send educators conflicting messages about how and what to teach. I locate sources of this tension in the different policy actors and institutional environments that created these curriculum and assessment documents.

Ultimately, this study seeks to contribute to the on-going conversation about standards-based reforms for history education – a topic once again grabbing national headlines. It calls into question the content and assumptions of what many consider the model for state mandated history curriculum: California's framework, standards, and tests. Focusing on a single subject within one state's system of accountability and tracing policy issues, debates, goals, and strategies across contexts, I explore how standards-based reform initiatives have developed over the past twenty-five years. This historical analysis highlights the expansion of state educational policymaking

during this time and provides an example of how and why educational reforms evolve and change, at times become inconsistent, and often produce unintended consequences.

Chapter One

The History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools: Revised, Expanded...Shelved

On June 5, 2009 Monica Ward, a member of the California Curriculum Commission, addressed the twenty members of the Curriculum Framework and Evaluation Committee (CFEC) at the conclusion of their final meeting.* Over the course of the past six months, after approximately eighty hours of meetings held in the boardroom on the first floor of the Department of Education building in Sacramento, the committee had fulfilled its charge of producing a new draft of the *History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools*. “You exemplify,” Ward said, “the spirit of civic duty for your commitment and dedication to insure that California’s history-social science curriculum is rigorous, standards-based, and directed toward meeting the needs of all students.” As members filed out of the chambers, congratulating each other on a job well done, no one seemed to suspect that the severe economic recession and budget crises paralyzing the state legislature just across the street was about to derail their efforts.

Six weeks later, on July 28th, as the Department of Education was preparing to post the new draft of the framework online, Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger used his line-item veto power to cut an additional 156 million dollars from an already gutted state budget. Among the cuts, Schwarzenegger eliminated \$705,000 intended for the Department of Education’s Curriculum Commission and suspended the

* Throughout this work, I refer to the Curriculum Framework and Evaluation Committee as either the CFEC or the Framework Committee.

adoption of instructional materials by the State Board of Education until 2013-2014. “As a result,” the governor’s statement read, “it is unnecessary for the [Curriculum Commission] to continue to advise the Board on content frameworks and instructional materials for the next five years.”¹⁵ The new *History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools*, along with plans for all future framework and textbook adoptions, was officially shelved.

The abrupt end to the history-social science adoption occurred fourteen months into a twenty-four month long process. In May and June of 2008, the Department of Education began the revision by sponsoring four focus groups across the state to solicit input on the revision. Later that fall, the Curriculum Commission selected, and the State Board appointed, members to the Curriculum Framework and Evaluation Committee. The Framework Committee conducted five, two-day meetings between February and June of 2009 to produce the new 612 page draft. In July, the Department of Education posted the draft on-line after minor revisions by the Curriculum Commission. The governor’s veto, however, eliminated plans for a sixty day field review, further revisions by the Curriculum Commission in the fall, a second field review, State Board of Education hearings scheduled for January 2010 and, finally, publication of the framework in May 2010. Instead, the stalled draft sat on the Department of Education’s web site following what might prove to be the final action on state frameworks by the Curriculum Commission.

Despite the current status of the new framework, its development up to this point remains a unique and important case of state policy for history-social science education. Rarely do historical factors framing the policymaking process so directly

alter, and in this case, undermine the institutional procedures for developing policy. Though it remains to be seen, the governor’s veto of the adoption process may prove to be what Paul Pierson refers to as a “critical juncture” for state curriculum policy in California – a groundbreaking event that disrupts well-established institutional norms and provides openings for new policymaking directions and paths.¹⁶ For decades, California, along with Texas, has helped define the content for textbooks across the nation. It is now unclear how and if California will continue to influence this process.

Furthermore, the 2010 adoption of the *History-Social Science Framework* marked the first significant revision of the framework since 1987 when it defined a common course of study for all students in California and became the first state curriculum in the nation to focus on history, rather than social studies. Legislation creating the *History-Social Science Content Standards*, adopted by the State Board of Education in 1998, called for future revisions of frameworks to align with the standards, which by 2008 had occurred in all the major subject areas except history-social science. One of the primary objectives of the present, suspended adoption, therefore, was to align the framework with the content standards. This process – one informed by issues and ideas from across two decades of state-sponsored, educational policies for history education – uniquely illustrates how reform initiatives develop, interact, and change over time. It also provides an opportunity to explore ways decisions are made regarding state sponsored history curriculum.

A New Framework: The Charge of the Committee

At the first meeting of the Curriculum Framework and Evaluation Committee, Ankar Bindra, an American Sikh elder from Berkeley California, spoke to the committee during public comment. Bindra pointed out “there is not a word about Sikhs in the current framework” and urged the committee to address this omission. Bindra along with nearly three dozen other members of the Sikh community, took advantage of time allocated for public comment during the committee’s next five meetings to provide history lessons about Sikhism, highlight accomplishments of notable Sikhs in California, and suggest several, specific places where such information might be included in the new framework. For the Sikhs, inclusion in the framework promised to address many of the challenges facing their community - in particular, the bullying experienced by Sikh boys for wearing long hair and turbans. As activist Ravni Core explained in her address to the committee: “The seeds of biased based harassment are planted at a young age and carry into adulthood, the ultimate intervention is mandatory education of Sikh children’s faith and their community’s contribution to the very fabric of Californian life.”

Speakers representing the Korean, Japanese, Italian, and Jewish communities, along with labor leaders, environmentalists, and advocates for civics education made similar pleas for greater or revised representation in the new framework throughout the drafting process. These requests closely aligned with one of the Framework Committee’s primary objectives. The State Board, in authorizing the revision, directed the committee to improve the “inclusivity” of the framework “to reflect the contributions of all groups to the history of California and the United States.”¹⁷

In addition to creating a more representative document, the State Board charged the committee to develop new chapters on “assessment,” “instructional strategies,” and “universal access.” It also authorized the committee to update the framework’s appendices and revise the “course descriptions” - overviews of the historical content studied at each grade level. The Board approved a number of “general principles” for this work: The committee was to retain the narrative format of the course descriptions and “the basic overarching goals and objectives” of the framework; align all revisions with the history-social science content standards; “include accurate information based on current and confirmed research”; and finally “be easy to use for teachers” and “accessible” to all students.¹⁸

To further guide the committee’s work, the State Board stressed the importance of adhering to several statutory requirements – in particular, changes to the Education Code and various legislative initiatives over the past decade that established requirements for “certain topics to be referenced in the framework.” These topics include:

- the Great Irish Famine (EC 51226.3)
- Cesar Chavez “and the history of the farm labor movement” (EC 510008)
- the “Environmental Principles and Concepts developed by the California Environmental Protection Agency” (Public Resources Code, Section 71301)
- “contributions of both genders, diverse ethnic groups, and the role of entrepreneur and labor in American history” (EC 60040)
- civics education (EC 60200.5)
- the life of Martin Luther King (EC 60200.6)

Additionally, the board recommended incorporating topics not required, but rather “encouraged” by legislation and the Education Code, such as:

- the Mexican Repatriation Program (Senate Concurrent Resolution 58, Chapter 128 of the Statutes of 2007)
- Labor History Week (EC 51009)

- “the wise use of natural resources” (EC 51221)
- “instruction of WWII, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War that incorporates video history of American soldiers” (EC 51221.3)
- the “Secret War” in Laos (EC 51221.4)
- materials for teaching about civil rights, human rights violations, slavery and the Holocaust (EC 51226.3)¹⁹

On the morning of the first meeting, committee chair Kirk Ankeney briefed committee members on the guidelines for revising the framework. Ankeney, head of history-social studies instruction for San Diego Unified School District at the time and a veteran of state policy, stressed first and foremost that the committee did not have the authority to change the *History-Social Science Content Standards*, adopted by the State Board in 1998 and integrated into the framework in 2001. “We have to underscore the fact,” Ankeney pointed out, “that we are not changing a word of the standards. Within the body of the curriculum framework, new research, historiography certainly needs to be infused, but the standards will not be changed.”

The committee’s charge laid out in the Board’s guidelines provided challenge enough without taking on the content standards. The California Education Code mandates the revision and adoption of state subject-matter frameworks every six years; however, this committee’s work, Ankeney pointed out, marked the first substantial revision of the *History-Social Science Framework* in over 20 years. Beyond the additions of seven appendices in 1997 and the content standards in 2001, the 1987 edition of the framework remained largely intact, with only minor changes made by members of the Department of Education in 2001.

The 1987 History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools

The California Department of Education began producing curricular frameworks for core academic subjects in the early 1960s to establish criteria for the adoption of textbooks and to guide educators across the state in designing courses and curricula. The first *Social Studies Framework for the Public Schools of California* appeared in 1962, followed by a *Social Sciences Education Framework for California Public Schools* in 1968 and 1975, and the first *History-Social Science Framework* in 1981. Each of these documents was distinct in content and reflective of their particular historical context. For example, the 1968 framework, funded by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965) was part of the new social sciences movement of the 1960s, and, similar to the infamous MACOS curriculum, proposed a course of study based upon “conceptual tools for studying man in society.”²⁰ In 1975, the framework adopted a more standard take on the social studies, focused on developing “work-study skills” and promoting social values through the core social science disciplines of anthropology, economics, geography, history, political science, psychology, and sociology.²¹ The 1981 framework, despite its title and nod to the “unique position” that history assumes as part of the social science and humanities, included a similar social studies-centered approach to curriculum.²²

The 1987 *History-Social Science Framework* represented a radical break from its predecessors. First, as State Superintendent of Public Instruction Bill Honig stated in the foreword, “This framework places history at the center of the social sciences and humanities.”²³ Written primarily by history professor Diane Ravitch of Teachers College and Charlotte Crabtree, a professor of education at UCLA, the framework called for the teaching of history at every grade level: California history in fourth

grade; American history in grades five, eight, and eleven; and world history in grades six, seven, and ten; with historical topics spread throughout the kindergarten to third grade sequence.

Moreover, the 1987 framework, at 122 pages, was more than double the length of the 1981 edition. Most of the additional pages came in the form of detailed narrations of grade level courses. These “course descriptions” reflected an expanded role for state frameworks. Rather than merely provide guidelines for teachers, the new framework sought “to establish a sequential curriculum for all students and teachers,” replete with specific, if only suggested, historical themes, events, people, dates, and books.²⁴ Never before had a state defined with such detail the content of K-12 history courses for its public schools.

The 1987 framework developed at the intersection of two powerful reform movements that emerged in the wake of *A Nation at Risk* (1983): systemic reform and history education reform. Where Honig championed the former, Ravitch personified the latter. Both considered state curriculum a powerful lever for improving public education.

Upon becoming State Superintendent in 1983, Bill Honig focused his considerable political clout on expanding the role of the State Department of Education through system wide reform of public education. Honig’s vision of systemic reform included tenets of what became more commonly referred to as standards-based reform in the 1990s; it focused on aligning assessments, instructional materials, teacher education, and professional development throughout the state with a

rigorous common curriculum defined by state frameworks.²⁵ Under Honig, state frameworks became California's first standards documents.

A history buff and strong proponent of history education, Honig recruited Ravitch to help write the new history-social science framework.²⁶ Ravitch had positioned herself as a leader for the reform of history education through several high profile publications during the 1980s.²⁷ She framed social studies as emblematic of the malaise and mediocrity that many believed had steadily eroded standards for public schools. Social studies, she argued, with its amorphous, multi-disciplinary emphasis had diluted, and in many schools, totally eclipsed history. This led to the study of “fads,” where students could satisfy social studies graduation requirements with classes on “energy education, environmental education, gun-control education, future studies, consumer education, (and) free-enterprise education.”²⁸

Ravitch traced the “decline and fall” of history education to the progressive era. In particular, she claimed the National Council of Social Studies’ “Committee of Social Studies Report (1916), which emphasized vocational and citizenship training for public school students, sowed the seeds for decades of lowered expectations and fragmented curriculum. She modeled the 1987 framework on the recommendations of an earlier report sponsored by the National Education Association’s “Committee of Ten” in 1892 – a committee of university academics and college professors who proposed that all public school students, whether they were bound for college or not, should study at least eight years of history.

Honig and Ravitch shared several assumptions regarding “the chronological study of history.”²⁹ First, history provided the opportunity to study the development of

American ideals and institutions. In this regard, it helped students develop “civic and democratic values.”³⁰ They also believed that history was particularly well-suited for integrating the other humanities and social science disciplines while promoting both critical thinking and basic study skills. Perhaps most importantly, Ravitch and Honig embraced the teaching and learning of history for diverse groups of students to identify with a common past – to develop what E.D. Hirsch promoted at the time as “cultural literacy.”³¹

The 1987 framework’s course descriptions embraced themes of pluralism and progress. These narratives eschewed the more critical multicultural and new left scholarship that emerged out of the 1960s and 1970s, and harkened back to the “liberal consensus” celebrated by many historians in the 1950s. This orientation was manifest throughout the framework’s reverent treatment of American ideals and institutions. However, the framework’s narratives did not ignore the darker chapters of American history, but rather treated subjects such as slavery, imperialism and racial and

Figure 1.1: Sample Unit Description: 1987 History-Social Science, Eighth Grade³²

Launching the Ship of State

In this unit students consider the enormous tasks that faced the new nation and its leaders through this difficult period; for example, Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, and the Adamses. The new nation had to demonstrate that its government would work, and in 1812 it had to fight a war to prove its sovereignty. Students should discuss the belief of the nation’s founders that the survival of a democratic society depends on an educated people. Students should analyze the connection between education and democracy symbolized in the Northwest Ordinance and in Jefferson’s dictum, “If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be.” Attention should be paid to the types of education received in church schools, dame schools, and at home.

Students also should examine the daily life of ordinary people in the new nation, including farmers, merchants, and traders; women; blacks, both slave and free; and American Indians. Reading excerpts from works by James Fenimore Cooper and Washington Irving will help bring this period alive.

economic inequality as obstacles to achieving American ideals; moreover, it embraced some elements of the new social history, exemplified in its focus on women, African-Americans, and “the daily life of ordinary people.”³³

The 1987 framework’s focus on the teaching and learning of chronological history received accolades from teachers, academics, and reformers. The primary criticisms of the framework revolved around scope, inclusion, and civics education. Teachers found the course description’s breadth of history - particularly 6th and 7th grades, which covered ancient civilizations and world history from A.D. 500-1789 respectively – too expansive and unrealistic to cover in single school year.³⁴ At the same time, Mexican-American, Hindu, Muslim and other California ethnic and religious groups lobbied the Department of Education and the state legislature for greater representation in the framework. Similarly, groups advocating for civics and social studies education claimed the framework’s focus on history provided an inadequate model for teaching government and promoting democratic citizenship.

The most scathing criticisms of the framework were political in nature. Although nothing like the fight surrounding the ill-fated national history standards, the framework became a small front in the culture wars blazing through legislatures, academic departments, and courtrooms in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Where the National History Standards were primarily attacked from the Right for being overly critical and excessively multicultural, the framework’s most vocal critics came from the Left and charged that it overemphasized progress, unity, and the Christian values of American history while downplaying diversity and overlooking racism and the costs of American expansion.³⁵

Such criticisms could not derail the implementation of the framework or the growth of the history education reform movement. By 1995, school districts across the state gave the framework favorable ratings and reported using it as a guide for the scope and sequence of their history programs and to develop course materials.³⁶ Further, in the years following the framework's adoption, history became solidified as one of the core academic subjects for standards-based reforms both nationally and in several states.³⁷ In 1992, Congress allocated funding for the creation of national history standards and, in 1994, President Bill Clinton signed the *Goals 2000: Educate America Act* that, among other things, provided funding for the development of state standards and assessments including, specifically, history as opposed to social studies.

The 1997, 2001, and 2005 Frameworks

The California Department of Education has published three editions of the *History-Social Science Framework* since 1987. The 1997 framework featured seven new appendices, including supplements to the high school world and American history courses, a statement on teaching religion, and suggestions of ways to “cover” the framework's wide expanses of world history.³⁸ The 2001 edition incorporated the *History-Social Science Content Standards*, and revised the 1987 course descriptions with a handful of edits and additions primarily to update the history – for example, inserting “former” before references to the Soviet Union and referring to South African Apartheid in the past tense.³⁹ In 2005, the Department of Education included a new section on evaluating course materials. Through these adoptions, the framework nearly doubled in size - from 120 to 234 pages. However, the 2005 framework

retained most of the 1987 edition's content – its introduction, section on goals, and course descriptions - almost word for word.⁴⁰

Most of the changes made to the framework since 1987 came internally, either from members of the Department of Education's Curriculum Division or the Curriculum Commission. While survey data, public comment, and expert opinions informed these revisions, none of the three history-social science framework editions were products of full adoption meetings and procedures. The decisions to fast track these adoptions reflected the high regard people within the Department of Education had for the 1987 framework and an unwillingness to sidetrack the framework's implementation with major revisions.⁴¹ Additionally, a work load that included helping to create content standards for math, language arts, science, and history between 1996 and 1998 and tumultuous adoptions of completely new math, science, and language arts frameworks between 1999 and 2003 left little time to revise what most people in the state department considered an already strong *History-Social Science Framework*.

Despite the fact that most of the 1987 edition remained intact, the inclusion of the *History-Social Science Content Standards* in 2001 fundamentally changed the framework. Developed in 1998, as part of the state's move to standards based reforms, the content standards supplemented the framework's course descriptions with fifty-five pages of specific historical items, numbered and arranged in outline format. The standards specified the events, people, places, and phenomena that should be taught at each grade level and became the focal point of the 2001 framework (Figure 1.2). They

Figure 1.2: Sample Content Standard⁴²

Content Standard 11.9.3

Trace the origins and geopolitical consequences (foreign and domestic) of the Cold War and containment policy, including the following:

- The era of McCarthyism, instances of domestic Communism (e.g., Alger Hiss) and blacklisting
- The Truman Doctrine
- The Berlin Blockade
- The Korean War
- The Bay of Pigs invasion and the Cuban Missile Crisis
- Atomic testing in the American West, the “mutual assured destruction” doctrine, and disarmament policies
- The Vietnam War
- Latin American policy

also included short outlines of historical analysis skills for grades K-5, 6-8, and 9-12. The content standards, as called for by the *Assessment of Academic Achievement Act* (1995) that legislated their development, also subsumed many of the framework’s goals and objectives. The standards, rather than the course descriptions, provided the content for aligning assessments, textbooks, and instructional materials. As such, they became the foundation of the state’s standards-based reforms for history-social science education. By 2001, even though the original 1987 framework remained largely intact, it no longer held the state’s curricular center; rather it served as a resource to help implement the standards.

The 2010 Adoption of the History-Social Science Framework

Each framework adoption in California is guided by institutional rules and responsibilities defined within the state Education Code. The code states that the Curriculum Commission – a body consisting of eighteen members appointed either by the state board, the governor, or the legislature - is responsible for the development

and revision of state frameworks. To do this, the Commission splits into smaller disciplinary units called Subject Matter Committees that select members for the Curriculum Framework and Evaluation Criteria Committee (CFCC). The CFCC develops initial drafts of frameworks, which are then revised by the Curriculum Commission, and, ultimately approved by the State Board (Figure 3). Employees of the Department of Education's Curriculum Frameworks and Instructional Resources Division (the Curriculum Division) play instrumental roles at every stage of the process – from establishing initial guidelines for an adoption to helping edit a framework's final draft.

When the history-social science framework came up for adoption in 2007, Tom Adams, the head of Curriculum Division, knew it was time for a major revision of the document. Historical events far outpaced the revisions made in 2001 and dated the 1987 course descriptions. The framework had not integrated any new research or historiography in two decades; nor had it addressed a growing number of statutes mandating inclusion of different historical topics and myriad requests by interest groups for greater representation. Additionally, while the framework and content standards aligned in general scope and sequence, the two documents differed over the grade level chronology of certain topics. Most importantly, as a document created to define the state's common curriculum for history-social science education, the framework was not particularly well suited for its new role as an instruction manual for teaching the standards.⁴³

Few people in the Department of Education were as familiar with these issues than Adams. After receiving his PhD in history at UC-Davis, Adams worked as a

consultant with the state department in the early 1990s, helping to develop the state CLAS exams. He joined the Curriculum Division in 1997, was actively involved in creating the *History-Social Science Content Standards*, and helped with every framework adoption over the past twelve years. Under Adams, Curriculum Division employees Sue Martimo and Ken McDonald facilitated the different stages of the history-social science adoption with help from Monica Ward, a high school history teacher who served as a member of the Curriculum Commission and the chair of the Commission's History-Social Science Subject Matter Committee.

The Curriculum Framework and Evaluation Committee for History-Social Science

In the summer of 2008, the Curriculum Division received eighty-one applications for the History-Social Science Framework Committee. The Curriculum Commission, in a public meeting that fall, reviewed and selected twenty applicants with two alternates and sent them to the State Board for approval. The Education Code states that framework committees include between nine and twenty members. The committee is selected by the Curriculum Commission and appointed by the State Board. The criteria for the committee are minimal: the majority of its members must be classroom teachers at the time of their appointment; and, at least one committee member must have experience working with English Language Learners, and one must be an experienced special education teacher. There are no specifications regarding the ethnic, racial, or gender makeup of the committee.

In heading this process, Monica Ward hoped to create a committee with equal distribution of teachers across grade levels, gender balance, and the necessary

expertise to address the framework's various historical and pedagogical topics. The final Framework Committee included eleven men and nine women; seventeen of whom were white, along with one Latino male, one Japanese woman, and one Indian woman. Fifteen committee members were teachers, two were professors of education, and three worked as county or district curriculum leaders. The teaching experience of committee members ranged from three to thirty-five years and most had taught history in public school at some point in their careers. Each member had at least one unique perspective to contribute. For example, Jessica Fork, a third year middle school teacher, was a certified archeologist. Brian McCabe was a graduate student in geography who taught community college courses; and, twenty-five year veteran teacher Linda Tubach worked as a demonstration teacher for Los Angeles Unified, specializing in using role plays to teach labor history.

Few committee members beyond the district curriculum specialists had any policy experience. Jim Charkins, an economics professor Cal State-San Bernadino and head of the California Council for Economics Education, worked as a consultant on the *History-Social Science Content Standards*. Gary Dei Rossi, Assistant Superintendent of Curriculum and Instruction for San Joaquin County, served on the Board of Advisors for the California Subject Matter Project and worked with the Department of Education as the co-chair of the History-Social Science Subcommittee of the Curriculum and Instruction Steering Committee; and, David Walters was the history-social science coordinator for Santa Clara county and current editor of *Sunburst*, the quarterly newsletter of the California Council for Social Studies.

In nominating a chairperson, the Curriculum Commission selected the most politically experienced member of the committee, Kirk Ankeney. As a new middle school teacher in the 1980s, Ankeney attended reviews of the 1987 framework and was involved in developing both the CAP and CLAS state testing regimes. Over the past twenty years, he worked as a teacher, vice-principal, and head of history-social studies curriculum for San Diego Unified School District, and as a consultant for Houghton Mifflin publishing. Ankeney served on the National History Standards Task Force in the early 1990s and was the chair of the California Curriculum Commission between 1997-1998, where he helped to develop the *History-Social Science Content Standards*. He had also been a member of the state's Assessment Review Panel, helping to vet questions for the California Standards Tests for History-Social Science, since the panel's inception in 2002. Such credentials, along with his commanding presence, helped to establish Ankeney as the clear leader of the committee's work.

The California Subject Matter Project for History-Social Science

Although the Education Code defines various responsibilities for creating and revising state frameworks, it makes no stipulations regarding the writing process. In the past, members from the Curriculum Commission, the Curriculum Division, or Framework Committee have created framework drafts. The Department of Education has also contracted out the writing of frameworks in order to decrease the tensions and workloads of Framework Committee members and insure that drafts are produced on schedule.

For the first time ever, the Department of Education contracted with the California Subject Matter Project, specifically the California History-Social Science Project (CHSSP), to write new draft chapters and course descriptions for the framework. Established in 1989 with state funding, the California Subject Matter Project consists of nine disciplinary based programs focused on K-16 professional development across the state, of which the CHSSP is one. The projects organize collaboration between university scholars and public school teachers. Initially, during the Honig era, they served as a policy instrument to help utilize the state's academic resources for training teachers in best practices and strategies for implementing subject frameworks. Currently, the History-Social Science Project's mission is "to advocate for history instruction," by promoting teacher development and "the achievement of all students through a research-based approach which focuses on standards-aligned content, historical thinking, and academic literacy."⁴⁴

The History-Social Science Project was uniquely positioned to write the new framework. The Project has branches housed within eight state university sites and has developed collaborative relationships with academics across university and college history departments. Moreover, through sponsoring myriad workshops, conferences, and seminars, the History-Social Science Project has promoted research specific to the teaching and learning of history. In 2008, it sponsored a series of "History Education Summits" that brought together some of the leading researchers in the field. As Nancy McTygue, the no nonsense Director of the CHSSP and a former high school history teacher, remarked on her choice to take on the framework revision, the Subject Matter

Project had access to “the range of scholars and expert teachers” necessary for addressing the framework’s wide variety of historiographic and educational topics.⁴⁵

The writing of the framework’s new chapters and course descriptions began in the fall of 2008. McTygue enlisted a writing team for world history that included: former Subject Matter Program Director and professor of ancient history at Cal Poly-Pomona, Amanda Podany; Ross Dunn, a leader in world history education from San Diego State University; and, Tim Kiern, a teacher educator and historian at Cal State-Long Beach. Attempts to assemble an American history team foundered when scholars who had agreed to participate backed out at the start of the project. Two Subject Matter Project employees, Tuyen Tran and Beth Slutsky - both PhDs in American history - took on most of the writing for the new American history course descriptions (grade five, eight, and eleven). A variety of scholars from across Subject Matter Project sites contributed to the new chapters on assessment, instruction, and universal access.

By January, writers began submitting draft chapters for the new framework to the Department of Education. Expecting revisions, McTygue was nonetheless surprised by the extent to which McDonnell and Adams wanted the chapters re-worked. The primary disconnect between the Department of Education and the writers arose over different conceptions of what alignment with the content standards meant and reflected alternative sets of goals and objectives. McTygue and her writing team approached the new framework as an opportunity to help teachers develop knowledge about different historical eras and learn strategies for teaching both historical content and skills to students with a wide range of reading, writing, and language skills. The

Department of Education, however, wanted a clearer guide for teaching the history-social science content standards. While there was certainly some overlap between these two approaches, the content standards were not prevalent enough in the first draft chapters to satisfy Adams and McDonald. In follow up drafts, the writing teams focused on integrating specific standards or content from the standards into each chapter and aligning the course descriptions with the grade-level chronologies of history covered by the standards.

The Role of the CFCC: Developing New Chapters

Because the new course descriptions needed to be re-worked and were not ready by the first meeting, the Curriculum Framework and Evaluation Committee's revision of the framework began with critiquing drafts of the new chapters on assessment, universal access, and instructional strategies/professional development. The most recent adoptions of the math and language arts frameworks included chapters on the same topics and the State Board's guidelines charged the CFCC to use the language arts framework as a model for their work. Overall, these chapters, as directed by the Board of Education, were to provide teachers and administrators with strategies for best practices in assessment, differentiated instruction, instructional strategies, and professional development for history-social studies education "based on current and confirmed research."⁴⁶ These additions signaled a shift from the framework's role of identifying and outlining content to describing and suggesting pedagogy, traditionally considered a local rather than state responsibility.

Just before the CFCC began revising the assessment chapter, Jennifer Metherd, a history professor at Cal State-Chico and the primary author of the chapter, explained her goals and assumptions to the committee. Metherd echoed the board guidelines, stating that beyond determining grades, assessment should guide and shape instruction. She noted the importance of including multiple forms of assessment in any approach to testing, but stressed the central role of writing in history-social science. Writing, Metherd concluded, was necessary to meet to State Board’s objectives that “assessments should test student mastery of higher-order thinking, not just recitation of specific facts” and that “the History-Social Science Analysis Skills should be an integral part of any assessment system.”⁴⁷

The chapter that Metherd presented to the committee was organized around a “three-part assessment strategy” as “a roadmap to achieving the standards.”⁴⁸ It included several examples of entry-level/diagnostic, progress monitoring, and summative assessments - from informal classroom observations and portfolios to a variety of writing activities - across four grade levels: K-2, 3-5, 6-8, and 9-12. At each grade level, the chapter discussed skill levels of students and showcased assessments for specific analysis and content standards. For example, to assess 11th grade Analysis Skill HR 3 – “Students evaluate major debates among historians concerning alternative interpretations of the past including an analysis of authors’ use of evidence and the distinctions between sound generalizations and misleading oversimplifications – Metherd suggested that, through “debates, simulations, oral presentations, and other project-based assessments in addition to traditional tests and written assignments,” students:

Consider the different strategies employed as part of the Civil Rights Movement: grassroots organizing and legal action. Citing evidence from primary resources such as Bayard Rustin's "From Protest to Politics," The Civil Rights Act of 1964, Anne Moody's "A Lunch Counter Sit-In in Jackson Mississippi," and Martin Luther King's "I Have Dream Speech," argue which was more effective.⁴⁹

The chapter also included information on the state's STAR testing program and how teachers might use testing data to prepare students for the California Standards Tests in History-Social Science.

As the committee began working on the assessment chapter, Kirk Ankeney clarified the group's purpose: "to identify language that should be revised, deleted, or added" and to make suggestions for additional concepts and activities. The CFCC's decision-making process involved a loose form of consensus. A facilitator would lead the committee – working either as an entire group, or split into grade level cohorts - line by line through drafts of chapters. Committee members shared suggestions for revisions and additions, which the group then discussed. If the facilitator determined that the suggestion had support, a member of the Department of Education or writer from the CSMP recorded the revision on a large post-it note. If not, the suggestion was dismissed. In cases where clear consensus was not apparent, the group voted.

Although members of the State Department, the Subject Matter Project, and those making public comment could make suggestions, only committee members had the power to introduce revisions for the new framework. Drawing from experience, Ankeney pointed out that even if a suggestion was agreed to by the group, that did not insure its inclusion in the next draft as, quite frankly, "some things get in, and some

don't.” “If this is your first time working on something like this,” Ankeney counseled, “you should know that just because you said it, doesn't mean it happens.”

The CFCC's contributions to the assessment chapter included minor revisions for clarification, adding examples of assessments, and addressing the “marginalization” of history, particularly in elementary grades due to state and national testing policies that prioritize reading and math. Much of the committee's work involved what Ankeney referred to as “wordsmithing” – for example, substituting “geographic literacy” for “map and globe” or replacing the word “test” with “assessment.” Members lauded the draft's focus on the analysis standards, and offered several examples of authentic, performance assessments. Moreover, several were dismissive of standardized, multiple choice testing and suggested eliminating nearly every reference to such tests in the assessment chapter. This resulted in some tension, as Adams pointed out that the framework could not openly undermine the state's history tests – which are strictly multiple-choice exams.

In two of the most substantial recommendations taken up by the writers, the committee called for a new introductory paragraph that stressed civic participation and a separate section on “marginalization” that advocated for more instructional time spent on history. The group also recommended additional examples of how history instruction could help student performance on the California Standards Tests' fourth and seventh grade writing exams, the California Standards Tests for Reading/Language Arts, and the California High School Exit exam, which, the revised assessment chapter noted, does not have a history component, but does “include concepts and content covered in history–social science classes, such as the ability to

synthesize content from several sources, being able to extend ideas put forth in primary and secondary sources, and evaluating the credibility of writer's arguments."⁵⁰ Overall, the writers made thirty-two edits to the chapter based upon the committee's suggestions.

From assessment, the CFCC moved to critiquing the new Universal Access chapter. While introducing the draft to the committee, Nancy McTygue, and Kristin Cruz, one of the Subject Matter Project's writers, elaborated on their approach to the chapter. McTygue spoke about the importance of language in history-social science in explaining the chapter's focus on reading and writing strategies. Cruz then called the committee's attention to State Board directives that the chapter "include strategies for differentiating instruction to meet the needs of all students" and "support teachers in providing standards-aligned instruction...to close the achievement gap."⁵¹ She pointed out that the Universal Access draft consisted primarily of "snapshots of different strategies" and apologized for the length of the draft (just over 10,000 words and forty-four pages). Cruz concluded by acknowledging the difficulty of succinctly addressing such a complicated set of issues and asked the committee for ways to balance length with adequate information to help teachers.

The Universal Access draft, similar to the assessment chapter, consisted largely of "models for instruction." The chapter provided dozens of strategies for modifying instruction, and focused, in particular, on ways to differentiate "content, process, and product" by "student readiness, interests, and learning profiles."⁵² Most examples related directly to sample content and analysis skill standards. The chapter drew from literature on cognitive learning theory, historical thinking, language

acquisition, heterogeneous classrooms and curriculum development. It made frequent references to research, for example, to inform claims about the importance of personalizing the history curriculum for students, strategies for learning vocabulary, and designing curriculum for English-Language Learners. One of the longest sections of the chapter detailed an approach to teaching called “language/process-assisted historical thinking” – a collection of strategies, such as modeling historical reading skills and using graphic organizers to support the analysis of primary documents, which integrated research on reading comprehension and historical thinking.⁵³

In reviewing the chapter, the CFCC made no recommendations for substantive cuts or additions. Most of the twenty-two edits taken up by the writers involved minor grammatical or wording revisions. The primary suggestion of the committee was to move the sections “California’s Changing Student Population,” “California’s Achievement Gap,” and “Cultural Awareness” from the end to the beginning of the draft in order to have these issues frame the chapter more directly.

As the committee began editing the final new chapter, “Instructional Strategies and Professional Development,” Gary Dei Rossi, who led the group through the draft, acknowledged the importance of making the framework “accessible” as members discussed ways to trim the forty-six page document. Nonetheless, he urged the committee to avoid cutting too much from what he considered “the framework’s most important chapter.” Dei Rossi pointed out that the chapter stood to make the greatest impact on what gets taught in schools by “appealing directly to teachers *and* administrators.”

Figure 1.3: Length of New Chapters

New Chapters	Pages	Word Count	CFCC Edits
Assessment	39	9154	32
Universal Access	43	10835	22
Instruction	46	10377	59

Indeed, the state board guidelines called for the chapter to provide instructional strategies, information for district administrators, research on professional development, and lists of resources “to support history-social science curriculum and instruction.”⁵⁴ The draft recommended teachers take a “three pronged approach” to teaching history-social science: develop content knowledge (based on the standards), disciplinary knowledge of history and the social sciences, and “knowledge of discipline-specific approaches to enhance student literacy.”⁵⁵ It then provided a detailed sketch of creating standards-based, history curriculum based upon Wiggins and McTighe’s “backward planning” model. The chapter also included overviews of the disciplines within history-social science -- history, geography, civics and government, and economics -- and a lengthy section on “history-social science literacy” that contained much of the same information featured in the Universal Access chapter – for example, teaching with primary documents, using graphic organizers, and developing vocabulary.

The committee’s suggested revisions of the chapter reflected Dei Rossi’s sentiments. Of the fifty-nine edits made by the committee, thirty-seven were additions and only six involved cutting material. Several of the additions were substantial. For example, Jim Charkins submitted a completely new and expanded version of the section on economics; Dave Walters suggested the addition of the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement’s (CIRCLE) six

“promising approaches” for civic education to the section on civics and government; and, at the urging of Kirk Ankeney, the writers added two paragraphs from the Education Code to encourage administrators to “support rigorous and robust history-social science programs.”⁵⁶

In all, the CFCC made over one hundred edits to the new draft chapters. All were in line with the State Board of Education’s guidelines, and, none called for sweeping revisions. The committee’s primary contributions revolved around “wordsmithing” to make the chapters “more teacher friendly,” adding examples of instructional and assessment activities, and advocating more instructional time for history, particularly in elementary classrooms. In addition to meeting state board guidelines and satisfying the different groups of people on the CFCC, the new draft chapters helped solidify one of the framework’s new, central objectives: providing teachers and administrators strategies for implementing the *History-Social Science Content Standards*.

The Role of the CFCC: Developing New Course Descriptions

Midway through the CFCC’s third meeting, Ken McDonald clarified the objectives for revising the framework’s course descriptions. He stressed the need to update the descriptions with new research and historiography and noted the State Board’s goal “to improve the inclusivity of the framework, and to reflect the contributions of all groups to the history of California and the United States.”⁵⁷

McDonald also asked the group to look for places “to include guidance for teachers on

how to implement particular standards and analysis skills” and to make suggestions on “anything that needs to be added, modified, or removed from the existing narrative.”

Similar to the chapters on assessment and instruction, the Subject Matter writers provided the CFCC drafts of new course descriptions. The committee then broke into grade level groups – elementary, middle, and high school – to edit drafts. The world history chapters – grades six, seven, and ten – marked the most sweeping changes to the 1987 framework’s course descriptions. This was due primarily to the objectives and efforts of the world history writing team - in particular, Tim Kiern, Ross Dunn, and Amanda Podany.

Kiern, an economic historian and instructor in Long Beach State’s teacher education program, saw the 2010 adoption as an opportunity to make “radical change” to the state’s world history curriculum.⁵⁸ After being contacted by Nancy McTygue about revising the course descriptions, Kiern enlisted Ross Dunn, professor emeritus at San Diego State University where he had taught African, Islamic, and world history. The two began developing a plan for re-working the course descriptions. Kiern was critical of the framework and standard’s “Eurocentric” focus. Others had made similar critiques over the past two decades - particularly in regard to the 10th grade modern world sequence that revolved around Europe’s democratic revolutions, industrialization, imperialism, totalitarianism and world wars. Dunn had long championed a more nuanced critique.⁵⁹ An advocate of “Big History,” he acknowledged the multi-cultural elements of the sixth and seventh grade curriculum, but argued the framework isolated cultures and nations without focusing on the larger “economic, political, climactic, and biological factors” connecting time periods and

civilizations and causing change across continents and centuries. By listing content in an outline format, the standards, he argued, encouraged this “culture of the month” approach to instruction.⁶⁰

After enlisting Podany, and Subject Matter Project Site Directors Nicole Gilbertson and David Neuman, the world history team met in November 2008 to begin developing, what Podany and Kiern called, “a global approach” to the sixth, seventh, and eighth grade course descriptions. This approach involved completely discarding the 1987 course descriptions and updating the framework to reflect changes in world history over the past two decades. The new drafts, in line with state board guidelines, followed the same general scope and sequence of the content standards – ancient history in sixth grade, world history from 500BC to 1789 in seventh, and modern world in tenth. However, the world history team introduced new periodizations of time for each grade level based upon large-scale trends and themes. For example, the seventh grade chapter began with overviews of “four major periods” of “changes that took place during medieval and early modern times”: 300-600 CE: An Era of Troubles; 600-1000 CE: New Vitality on the Networks of Exchange; 1000-1450 CE: Expanding Webs of Interaction; and, 1450-1750: The Great Global Convergence.⁶¹ These overviews were followed by descriptions of “sub-periods,” which focused on topics included in the standards.

The new course descriptions also included far more detailed and nuanced narratives than the 1987 framework’s overviews of grade level content. Incorporating the latest methodologies in world history, the drafts presented lengthy descriptions of how geography and climate interacted with political and economic systems to help

Figure 1.4: 7th Grade World History Course Description Sections

1987 Framework	2010 Draft Framework
1) Connecting with Past Learnings: Uncovering the Remote Past 2) The Fall of Rome 3) Growth of Islam 4) African States in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times 5) Civilizations of the Americas 6) China 7) Japan 8) Medieval Societies: Europe and Japan 9) Europe During the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Scientific Revolution 10) Early Modern Europe: The Age of Exploration to the Enlightenment 11) Linking Past to Present	1) Global Overview: 300-1750 CE 2) 300-600 CE: An Era of Troubles 3) 600-1000 CE: New Vitality on the Networks of Exchange 4) 1000-1450 CE: Expanding Webs of Interaction 5) 1450-1750: The Great Global Convergence 6) The Expansion and Disintegration of the Roman Empire 7) The Civilizations of Islam 8) China in the Middle Ages 9) The Sub-Saharan Civilizations of Medieval Africa 10) Medieval Japan 11) Medieval Europe 12) Meso-American and Andean Civilizations 13) The Renaissance 14) The Historical Developments of the Reformation 15) The Scientific Revolution 16) Political and Economic Change in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries

explain the rise and fall of different civilizations and nation states. They also included a much larger cast of characters, events, and topics. Although the drafts did not mention any specific standards, they did incorporate content from the standards and explained its historical significance.

Adams and McDonald's two primary criticisms of the initial world history drafts were that they were too long, and did not include all of the standards' content. Before presenting drafts to the Framework Committee, the world history writers cut approximately 2000 words from each course description. Furthermore, they made sure that content from every standard appeared in the narrative. This proved a challenge for both Kiern and Podany, as they found some standards arbitrary and confusing. For example, Podany, an ancient historian and Hammurabi specialist, was unclear how to

approach the sixth grade standard 6.2.9's charge "to trace the evolution of language and its written forms" given the chasm between written and spoken language, while Kiern had to find ways to fit figures such William Tyndale and Desiderius Erasmus from content standard 7.9.2 into his narrative.⁶²

Even after major revision, the new framework's world history course descriptions were much longer than the previous edition's. The sixth grade chapter expanded by seventy percent, from 2,345 words to 7,741; and both the seventh and tenth grade descriptions were over 8,000 words long. These chapters became the three largest course descriptions in the new framework.

Unlike world history, the new American history course descriptions -- grades, five, eight, eleven, and fourth grade California history -- were not complete departures from the 1987 framework. In house writers Tuyen Tran and Beth Slutsky along with the Department of Education's Ken McDonald took an editorial approach to revising the American history chapters, rather than a whole scale reconceptualization. They followed the same chronology and incorporated chunks of prose from the 1987 course descriptions. The writers did, however, make significant revisions: they re-organized topics, created new titles for certain time periods, expanded sections of the narrative, and, of course, integrated content from the standards. The new American history chapters, following Board guidelines, included more women, more diversity, and more information about labor movements.

Although the world history course descriptions were twenty-seven pages longer than the American history descriptions, the CFCC made approximately twenty-five percent more edits to the American history sequence. This disparity may be

Figure 1.5: Growth of Course Descriptions

Course Descriptions	Pages	2005 Word Count	2010 Word Count	% Increase	CFCC Edits
4 th Grade	13	1960	3043	55 %	36
5 th Grade	23	3253	5739	76 %	49
6 th Grade	30	2345	7741	230 %	31
7 th Grade	33	3270	8119	148 %	30
8 th Grade	20	3360	4892	46 %	40
10 th Grade	34	4305	8175	90 %	53
11 th Grade	27	4977	6630	11 %	58

related to the fact that only three members of the committee had experience teaching either sixth or seventh grade, while the majority had taught at least one of the American history courses. Furthermore, the different approaches to writing the world and American chapters – a comprehensive re-working as opposed to a revision – may have resulted in drafts demanding different amounts of editing.

Most of the Framework Committee’s suggested edits involved re-phrasing sentences or adding people, events, and suggestions for classroom activities. By a ratio of more than two to one, the committee proposed items to add, rather than remove from grade level narratives. For example, the committee recommended including Helen Hunt Jackson in the eleventh grade passage on progressive reformers and Madame Geoffren and Mary Wolstonecraft to the discussion of Enlightenment philosophers in tenth grade. To the section on Rome in seventh grade, the committee added that “the emperor Diocletian separated the Roman Empire in half in the third century CE” and emperor Constantine “convened the first ecumenical council that wrote the Nicene Creed, a summary of Christian beliefs.”⁶³

The committee’s revisions of the American history course descriptions resulted in more critical narratives than those Ravitch and Crabtree produced in 1987. This was due, in part, to the six teachers who served on the high school review group - all of

whom at some point during the meetings referenced their progressive politics. During the first round of “small group” revisions where grade level cohorts edited different course descriptions, these committee members shared their goals of adding more about “racism,” “poverty,” “imperialism,” and the environmental impact of American economic and foreign policies to the course descriptions. These objectives resulted in new discussions of American interventions and support of authoritarian regimes in Central America, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia along with expanded coverage of racist immigration policies, Japanese internment, Mexican repatriation and McCarthyism in the eleventh grade course descriptions.

In several instances, the high school group added small revisions and additions that contributed to a more disparaging portrait. In describing Reconstruction, the 1987 framework included the line: “Racism prevailed, enforced by lynch mobs, the Ku Klux Klan, and popular sentiment.”⁶⁴ The group modified this line to read: “Racism prevailed, enforced by lynch mobs, the Ku Klux Klan, popular sentiment, *and federal acceptance, which spread outside of the south.*”⁶⁵ Some of the group’s decisions called for even subtler changes. When revising the section “Rise of the United States as a World Power,” for example, they made two easily overlooked but telling changes. First, they decided to add “and promoted” to the sentence “The United States actively protected *and promoted* its economic and political interests overseas during this intense period of global competition for raw materials, markets, and colonial possessions.”⁶⁶ Next, they moved to change “democracy” to “interests” in a sentence that originally read, “The foreign policy of progressive presidential administrations – Theodore Roosevelt, William Taft, and Woodrow Wilson - attempted to extend

Figure 1.6: Excerpt of High School Group Editing Eleventh Grade Course Descriptions

Member #1: I want to put on line 85, the United States actually protected *and promoted* its economic and political interests.

Member #2: Yea, that's good.

Writer/Note Taker: Which line?

Member #1: Line 85 - Protected *and* promoted, I want to add *and* promoted.

Member #2: Let's get that *aggressive* element in there huh,...needs to be.

Committee Member #3: Well, if were talking about aggressive element on 89...Ah, to extend American democracy using the Roosevelt Corollary? Has nothing to do with American democracy, not at all

Member #2 True...What would you substitute?

Member #3: I don't know if I would...

Other Members: Ideals? American ideals? Interests?

Member #3: Yea, American interests would, would work.

Member #2: Interests is broader. I like interests...Definitely not democracy. Hah!

Member #3: Isn't that why were in Iraq? Bringing democracy...

Writer/Note Taker: So, what line was that?

Member #2: 89, line 89. Take out democracy and replace it with interests.

American democracy to the world as illustrated by the Roosevelt Corollary.”⁶⁷ The group's discussion, transcribed in figure 1.6, illustrates the political nature of these decisions.

Not all suggestions, however, were approved by the committee or taken up by the writers. For example, one of the more politically motivated and vociferous members of the committee suggested “listing the economic accomplishments of Stalin's five-year plans” in tenth grade and adding that “students can conduct a mock trial to evaluate the genocide of the Taino People, cross examine Columbus and his men, the King and Queen of Spain, the Catholic Church and the Taino people

themselves” for an activity to the fifth grade course descriptions. The committee rejected both suggestions, along with several others.

Despite such suggestions and additions, all of the new American history chapters followed the 1987 framework’s basic narrative of American progress, albeit a little less steady and with a little more struggle, towards achieving its ideals. This resulted from the writers’ decisions to keep chunks of the 1987 American history course descriptions intact. As the eleventh grade chapter concluded, retaining Ravitch and Crabtree’s prose word for word:

Students recognize that under our democratic political system the United States has achieved a level of freedom, political stability, and economic prosperity that has made it a model for other nations, the leader of the world’s democratic societies, and a magnet for people all over the world who yearn for a life of freedom and opportunity... The United States has demonstrated the strength and dynamism of a racially, religiously, and culturally diverse people. All citizens of the United States enjoy a democratic republic, rule of law, and guaranteed constitutional rights.⁶⁸

Members of the CFCC recommended a number of additions to the framework’s new course descriptions based upon public comment. For example, in response to over a dozen speakers advocating for more Korean history, the committee added several references to Korea in the seventh and tenth grade course descriptions. They also included several activities for promoting civic participation and service learning at the urging of State Senator Mark Weyland and members of the Center for Civics Education. After receiving brochures from the director of the restored Japanese “Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Colony” outside of Coloma, the committee made the following addition (in italics) to the fourth grade course descriptions: “Completion of the railroad and newly built seaports increased trade between Asia and eastern cities.

They also brought thousands of new settlers to California, *including the Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Colony from Japan.*”⁶⁹

Finally, the concentrated efforts of the Sikhs resulted in six references to Sikhism in the new framework, the most additions of any group lobbying the CFCC. These included adding Pushpinder Singh’s *The Boy with Long Hair* to a list of suggested readings in second grade; mentioning “Dalip Singh Saund, a Sikh immigrant who was the first Asian American to serve in the United States Congress” in fourth grade; and including a brief description of Sikhism in the optional ninth grade world religions elective.⁷⁰ The most substantial treatment of Sikhism came in the seventh grade section on the Reformation that now reads:

Religious enthusiasm and challenge to orthodoxy in the early modern period was not unique to Europe. In South Asia Sikhism arose as a new religion founded by Guru Nanak, a social reformer who challenged the authority of the Brahmin and the power of the Mughal empire. Students may learn about the Sikh Scripture (Guru Granth Sahib), articles of faith, turban, and Sikh history. The three basic principles of Sikhism are honest living, sharing with the needy, and praying to the same and one God.⁷¹

The 2010 History-Social Science Framework: “A Consensus Document”

Soon after the suspension of framework and textbook adoptions, Tom Adams began receiving calls from a range of people who supported or contributed to the new draft. Across the board – from the Korea Society to the California Council for Social Studies - people were “disappointed and shocked” that all of the effort put into the draft appeared wasted.⁷² This reaction, Adams concluded, indicated that the new framework was “a consensus document.” Indeed, the satisfaction expressed by Curriculum Division employees, the Subject Matter Project writers, members of the CFCC, and the public commentators suggests the new framework has fulfilled one of

its central objectives – to be more inclusive. There was, quite simply, something for everyone in the new draft.

The new framework’s consensus results from an array of interests and objectives that expand the purview of state frameworks. While the state has traditionally refrained from mandating “how to teach,” the 2010 framework goes further than previous editions in attempting to guide local decision-making regarding instruction and assessment. The new chapters aim to shape classroom practice with best practices, promote collaboration across subject area and grade level, influence school administration, and increase the amount of time for history instruction. The new framework, moreover, supplements the 1987 edition’s basic goals of using history education to develop critical thinking, study skills, and citizenship with an even more ambitious set of objectives: for example, closing the achievement gap, fundamentally changing how world history is taught across the state, and mitigating the racism, discrimination, and marginalization experienced by various minority groups in California.

While incorporating new objectives, the framework has shed part of its original intent of guiding assessments, and other instructional materials now aligned with the history-social science content standards. It remains unclear how the framework will relate to textbook adoption, assuming the state resumes adopting textbooks in 2010. Tom Adams along with Department of Education consultants Ken McDonald and Sue Martimo, however, all stated that the standards now play the central role in textbook adoptions. Instead, the Department of Education’s primary purpose for the *History-Social Science Framework*, in the words McDonald, is to “provide a blueprint for

teachers on how to implement the standards.”⁷³ This objective proved contentious throughout the CFCC meetings, as committee members realized they did not have the authority to modify the standards. Several members noted that the standards were more influential for teachers than the framework because of the standards’ accessible format and the fact that they are tested as part of the state’s accountability system.

At the start of the CFCC’s final meeting, Mohanders Thiara, a committee member and former elementary school teacher, articulated a new goal for the framework based upon its relationship with the content standards. She suggested that “when the standards eventually come up for revision, the new framework, along with the additions and changes we make to it, will guide the development of new content standards.” While several committee members agreed with this objective, both Adams and McDonald were quick to point out that there are no plans for revising the content standards. In fact, no protocol or procedures exist for modifying or updating the standards, which remain unchanged since their adoption in 1998.

In all, the multitude of objectives fueling the 2010 History-Social Science adoption has resulted in a massive new framework. Members of the Framework Committee and Curriculum Division agree that the current draft is too big and needs further editing. At 612-pages, and featuring several 40-page chapters, the draft illustrates tension between the State Board’s guidelines of having the framework “reflect the contributions of all groups to the history of California and the United States” and “be easy to use for teachers.”⁷⁴ Greater inclusivity and diversity, as is often the case with history curriculum, may decrease manageability. Furthermore and finally, while the expanded framework is now more closely aligned with the *History-*

Social Science Content Standards, it remains, in important pedagogical and historiographical ways, at odds with the standards and the California Standards Tests for History-Social Science – the subjects of our next two chapters.

Chapter Two

“The Essential Core Academic Content that Every Student Should Know”: California’s History-Social Science Content Standards for Public Schools

On October 16, 1995, California officially adopted standards-based reforms for public education when Governor Pete Wilson signed into law Assembly Bill 265, the Leroy Greene California Assessment of Academic Achievement Act. The legislation called for a new state system of standards-based tests and created the Academic Standards Commission to develop content and performance standards for math, English-language arts, science, and history-social science. As mandated, new content standards would define “the specific academic knowledge, skills, and abilities” taught and tested at every grade level. Performance standards were to “define levels of competence” and “gauge the degree” to which students and schools met the content standards.” Once adopted, standards would serve as the basis for state tests, textbooks, professional development, and curriculum frameworks.⁷⁵

Over the course of three years, and after two extended deadlines, the Academic Standards Commission fulfilled its charge of creating content standards for each subject. The twenty-one member group split into subject area subcommittees to develop, as directed by law, standards in math and English-language arts first, followed by science and history-social science. Political appointments to the Commission led to protracted, pedagogical battles over the math standards and charged debates that almost derailed the science committee. By comparison, the language arts and history adoptions proved less contentious. Governor Wilson cut short the commission’s efforts to create performance standards when, citing time

constraints, he suspended the process in May 1998.

Today, 12 years after their adoption, California's content standards remain intact and unchanged. California's Education Code mandates the revision of state frameworks every seven years; however, no protocol exists for updating the content standards. Various legislative initiatives for revising the standards have stalled over the years. According to one State Department official, policymakers have little motivation for opening up this debate. For one, revisiting the standards, as witnessed most recently in Texas, promises a political circus that few in the Department of Education, Legislature, or State Board of Education welcome. Additionally, the costs of re-aligning the education system to new sets of standards - now institutionalized in assessments, textbooks, and instructional materials – are prohibitive in tough economic times.

Despite the impact that California's content standards have made on public education in the state, only a few studies have examined the Academic Standards Commission. Most of this work has focused on the development of the math and science standards, with little attention paid to history.⁷⁶ McDonnell and Weatherford's (1999) study of the Standards Commission included a brief analysis of the History-Social Science Committee's work. The report, commissioned by the UCLA Center for the Study of Evaluation (CSE) to examine the "democratic nature" of standards development, concluded that the history standards "were prepared with little controversy" because members of the committee accepted the popular *History-Social Science Framework* as a guide to their work and that, unlike the Commission's other sub-committees, there were "no major differences in curricular philosophy" between

committee members.⁷⁷ Journalist Joanne Jacobs (2006) echoed these conclusions in her cursory, and celebratory, account of the history standards that appeared in the 2006 edition of the Fordham Foundation's "State of State Standards" report. Relying on a few interviews with committee members, Jacobs described the history committee as "tranquil" and concluded that "they did their best to find a teachable balance [of content], and finished without igniting a history war."⁷⁸ Andrew LaSpina (2009) offered a slightly different, yet equally brief, description of the history committee's work. LaSpina claimed that the history committee split over the scope and sequence of historical topics in the *History-Social Science Framework* and that it took outside intervention by the State Board of Education to insure that the content standards aligned with the framework.⁷⁹

In its final report to the Board of Education, the Academic Standards Commission claimed that the new history-social science standards constituted "the essential core academic content that every student should know."⁸⁰ Such a lofty claim alone makes the work of the History-Social Science Committee an interesting case of policymaking and warrants several questions: What makes this content "essential"? Who made this determination? How were these decisions made?

Twelve years after the creation of the *History-Social Science Content Standards*, these questions remain largely unexplored. Further, the content standards impact on shaping textbooks, assessments, and instruction in California classrooms, the fact that they have never been modified, and the lack of plans or procedures to update or revise the standards, make the work of the History-Social Science

Committee an important case of policymaking, raising even more questions: What were the issues and procedures that drove this process? Who was involved and what were their goals and assumptions regarding the standards? How were content decisions made?

This chapter addresses these questions through examining the development of the *History-Social Science Content Standards*, from the first meeting of the History-Social Science Committee in November 1997 to the State Board of Education's adoption of the standards on October 9, 1998. It focuses on the goals, assumptions, and contributions of policymakers, the processes involved in creating the standards, and the primary issues and decisions regarding the content of the standards.

The Academic Standards Commission's History-Social Science Committee

In May 1998, a news item appearing in the American Historical Association's online publication *Perspectives* provided a brief overview of the Academic Standards Commission's History-Social Science Committee. The article reported that the committee was making progress towards developing history standards, but noted that, "given the lack of history academics and history teachers on the commission, there are some concerns in the field about the emerging standards."⁸¹ Indeed, neither the Standards Commission, nor the History-Social Science Committee, included any professors of history or K-12 history teachers.

Unlike the requirements for state framework committees, the criteria for selecting the Academic Standards Commission lacked specificity. The Assessment of Academic Achievement Act stated that "the commission may include, but not

necessarily be limited to, parents, classroom teachers, representatives of the business community, and individuals with expertise in pupil assessment or expertise in the subject matter areas included in the statewide pupil assessment program.”⁸² The legislation was more specific about who would select commission members. Of the twenty-one commissioners, eleven were to be appointed by Governor Wilson, seven by State Superintendent of Public Instruction Delaine Eastin, one jointly by Wilson and Eastin, one by the state senate, and one by the assembly. It appears politics trumped subject matter expertise. Wilson, a Republican, nominated eleven Republicans, and Eastin, a Democrat and no friend of Wilson’s, appointed seven Democrats.

The History-Social Science Committee included nine members: five appointed by Wilson, three by Eastin, and one by the state senate. The group was an eclectic mix. Three members were academics: Eastin appointee and vice-chair of the Standards Commission, Robert Calfee, a psychologist from the School of Education at Stanford University; Raymund Paredes, another Eastin appointee and English professor at UCLA; and, Jerry Treadway, a literacy specialist teaching at San Diego State University. Education consultant Judy Coddling was the final Eastin appointee. Coddling, a former principal and, at the time, director of the National Alliance for Restructuring Education, had worked with state and local education systems in developing standards and assessments. Her book, *Standards for Our Schools: How to Set Them, Measure Them, and Reach Them* (1998) was published during the final drafting of the *History-Social Science Content Standards*.⁸³ Other members of the committee included co-founder and director of Del Mar Pines Elementary school in

Southern California, Judith Panton; Alice Petrossian, a former elementary school teacher and President of the California Board of Community College Board of Governors; and LaTanya Wright, a mother of three who home schooled her children and was a member of the Separation of School and State Alliance. The only teacher on the committee was senate appointed Kate Simpson, a multiple-subject sixth grade teacher from Sacramento. Intellectual property attorney Lawrence Siskind, who had worked in President Reagan's Justice Department, served as the chair of the committee.

At the committee's first meeting, Siskind proposed that education consultant Sue Pimentel work as the lead writer for the history-social science content standards. Pimentel, a co-founder of StandardsWork based in Virginia and the "Senior Standards Adviser" to the Standards Commission, had assumed a similar role for the language arts committee. Pimentel held a J.D. and a B.S. in early childhood education - both from Cornell - but did not have a background in history-social science. She had worked as a policy advisor to Maryland Governor William Schaefer and as a special counsel to the Superintendent of Public Schools in Prince George's County. Siskind nominated Pimentel, in part, based upon her work developing the language arts standards, and after the Standards Commission received only one other proposal - deemed inadequate - to write the history standards. As Siskind pointed out, working with Pimentel allowed the committee to get started on drafting standards immediately rather than issuing another RFP. Ellen Clark, a colleague of Pimentel assisted in developing drafts of the standards along with Sheila Byrd, a commission staff employee.

Similar to its vague criteria for staffing the Standards Commission, the Assessment of Achievement Act lacked specific guidelines for developing standards. It did include five general requirements: that standards must “be measurable and objective”; “align with knowledge and skills called for under [state] curriculum frameworks”; “reflect the knowledge and skills necessary for California's work force to be competitive in the global, information-based economy of the 21st century”; “be comparable in rigor to academic content and performance standards of America's global economic competitors”; and finally, “provide the basis for assessments for kindergarten and grades 1 to 12.”⁸⁴ Additionally, the law mandated that the Standards Commission and State Board of Education hold six public hearings for each set of standards. While the commission was responsible for drafting standards, the State Board would formally adopt standards and had the power to modify any proposed standards before adoption.

The Standards Commission set an ambitious schedule for the adoption of the history-social science and science standards. Faced with a January 1, 1998 deadline to finish all of its work, the commission planned to develop the history and science standards in eight months, between November 1997 and July 1998. The commission scheduled 8 monthly concurrent meetings for the History-Social Science and Science Committees during this time. The plan was to approve first drafts of both standards documents by each committee's sixth meeting on April 1, to then distribute the drafts for expert review, and conduct a first round of public hearings across the state between April 28 and May 1. The writing teams would incorporate public comment into second drafts for the committees to discuss and edit, followed by another round of public

hearings at the end of May. The committees were to then develop final drafts during their closing meetings on June 11 to present for approval by the full Standards Commission on July 1. After making any necessary final edits, the commission planned to submit final drafts of the history and science standards to the State Board of Education on August 1, 1998.

Getting Started

The first meeting of the History-Social Science Committee began with a presentation by Ellen Clark on the state's graduation requirements for history education. Since 1983, as mandated by the landmark Hughes-Hart education reform act, California has required that students take three years of history-social science education, along with one semester of economics and one semester of government or civics in order to graduate from high school. Clark claimed that students "traditionally" have taken the three years in tenth , eleventh , and twelfth grade, presumably rolling the economics and civics courses into the history-social science requirements. She also pointed out that many districts followed the scope and sequence of the *History-Social Science Framework* – providing an elective in ninth grade, studying modern world history in tenth grade, modern American in eleventh, and splitting twelfth grade into semesters on economics and civics.⁸⁵

Clark based her claims, in part, on the results of a survey conducted by the Academic Standards Commission. In order to guide the development of history standards, the commission surveyed ninety-one districts across the state to gauge the perception and use of the 1987 framework. Seventy three percent of the districts gave

the framework a score of either 4 or 5 on a five point, likert-scale, with 5 indicating “highly regarded” and 1 “not highly regarded.” Eight-three percent of the K-8 districts reportedly followed the framework’s course sequence:

Fourth grade: California History
Fifth grade: American History –Pre-Columbian – 1850
Sixth grade: Ancient History
Seventh grade: World History – 500BC to 1789
Eighth grade: American History – American Revolution to WW1

All of the high school districts indicated following the framework’s sequence, though some split the tenth grade curriculum across ninth and tenth grades. Sixty percent of the districts reported participating in conferences or workshops focused on implementing the framework, and sixty-five percent claimed to be developing their own history standards aligned with the framework.⁸⁶

Based upon this evidence, the History-Social Science Committee decided to use the framework as a foundation for developing standards. Siskind and others on the committee, however, clearly stated for the record that the framework would not limit their decision-making. Committee members proceeded to list what they considered the framework’s primary weaknesses. These included: a lack of historical content in grades K-3; too much content in the world history sequences, particularly at seventh grade; inefficient use of ninth grade by allowing for a choice of ill-defined electives; and, not enough focus on civics. Furthermore, Raymond Paredes claimed that the framework did not promote studying and comparing different cultures. Kate Simpson, the lone teacher on the committee, added that she did not think teachers were actually teaching the framework’s course of study because of time constraints and the lack of appropriate instructional materials.

One of Sue Pimentel's first assignments was to identify and report on "the best resources" for developing standards. By 1998, twenty-six states had developed either history or social studies standards.⁸⁷ Moreover, voluntary national standards had been developed for history, civics, and geography. Pimentel decided to focus on the Virginia and Massachusetts standards and, at the second committee meeting, presented a chart comparing the grade level sequence of topics in each state document with that of the framework. According to meeting minutes, she claimed the Massachusetts standards combined "good depth and complexity" with a conceptual approach to history, but were "overstuffed with content." The Virginia standards, she continued, were "strong in content" and had "any easy to use format."⁸⁸ After comparing the similarities and differences of the three documents' scope and sequence, Siskind suggested that Pimentel create a preliminary standards draft combining the basic structure of the framework with the "content of Virginia and Massachusetts standards," while continuing to gather resources.⁸⁹

Pimentel's selection of the Virginia and Massachusetts standards as models for the history committee was an early indication of how California's standards would develop. Both documents were history centered – products of the same history reform movement that had created the 1987 *History-Social Science Framework*. And, both developed in the fall-out over the National History Standards. Virginia's *History and Social Science Standards of Learning* provided a more traditional, western centered narrative than the National Standards - one characterized by consensus and progress, and endorsed by many of conservatives, such as Lynn Cheney and Chester Finn. Indeed, one might claim that by using the Virginia standards as a model, the history

committee rejected the National Standards. In fact, the committee overlooked the work of Gary Nash and several other state history educators who ran the National History Center at UCLA and created the National Standards. Moreover, despite their charge to create “world class” standards, the committee never examined or discussed any other country’s curriculum documents or policies for teaching history.

During the History-Social Science Committee’s first two meetings, Lawrence Siskind acknowledged the “turbulence surrounding the work of the Commission” and expressed his “confidence that committee members would proceed with civility and professionalism at all times.” He hoped that, as “veterans of the standards developing process,” the committee could avoid the rancor that marred the math adoption.⁹⁰ The group, now almost two years into their service on the Standards Commission, shared Siskind’s desire. The prolonged and charged development of the math standards had drained many committee members, who now looked forward to fulfilling their obligations to the Commission. Members agreed to identify and work constructively through controversial issues. Political and pedagogical differences did remain between committee members, however, and were evident throughout the committee’s work. At the end of first meeting, for example, Raymond Paredes suggested the committee hear from Gary Nash. LaTanya Wright followed Paredes by recommending that John Fonte address the committee. Fonte, a member of the American Institute of Research, had served on Lynne Cheney’s Committee to Review the National Standards and had authored a report excoriating Nash’s history standards. Siskind questioned the worth of hearing from either Nash or Fonte and rejected both suggestions. In avoiding what

promised political and pedagogical debate, Siskind set a precedent for keeping potentially controversial voices out of committee meetings. Both Nash and Fonte, however, would end up contributing to the standards in ways less visible to the public.

Preliminary Drafts

By early January, Pimentel had completed a first “preliminary draft” of the content standards. As she noted, the forty-one page document followed the framework’s course sequence and used the Massachusetts and Virginia standards to fill in content for elementary grades. For grades four through twelve, she relied heavily on the framework for content, but also referenced standards from Massachusetts, Virginia, New York, Washington DC, and NAEP to “benchmark” the draft. Pimentel used the Virginia standards as a model for formatting the draft. Each grade level included between seven and thirteen primary standards defining the major topics and concepts to study, along with several bullet points elaborating on content related to each standard (Figure 2.1). Grade level standards were organized primarily by chronology. Most of them related to historical topics; some grades, however, included separate geography, economics, civics, and historical analysis standards.

Figure 2.1: Sample 6th Grade Standard: First Preliminary Draft⁹¹

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|---|
| <p>Standard 6.4: Students describe and analyze the conditions and forces for continuity and change in the development of the early civilizations of ancient Greeks and their contribution to Western Civilization, with emphasis on</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• transition from tyranny and oligarchy to early democratic forms of government and ancient Greece, the significance of citizenship, and the differences between American republicanism and Athenian democracy• life in Athens during the Golden Age of Pericles and life in Sparta, including the status and conditions of women, slaves, and foreigners• the impact of Greek commerce on the Mediterranean region• causes and outcomes of the Persian Wars and the Peloponnesian Wars and the very different effects the two wars had on Athenians |
|---|

- the conquest of Greece and Macedonia, and the spread of Hellenistic culture by Alexander the Great
- the dawn of rational thinking expressed by Greek Philosophers (including Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle), playwrights, poets, historians, sculptors, architects, mathematicians, and scientists and their impact on Western culture

Presenting the draft to the committee, Pimentel explained that Paul Gagnon had contributed several comments and suggestions. Gagnon, a French historian at the University of Massachusetts-Boston and principal author of the Bradley Commission Report (1988), was enthusiastic about the draft. Introducing issues that the committee would discuss throughout their work, he endorsed the format and content, but stressed that teachers “should not have to think that they must treat all bullets with equal emphasis.” With this in mind, Gagnon suggested adding even more details for each main standard to help teachers “make judgments for the design of their courses and lessons more easily.”⁹² He cautioned, however, that any assessment tied to the standards focus explicitly on the main standards, so that teachers did not feel compelled to cover all bullet points. Gagnon also suggested increasing the number of main standards with content included in bullets and to specify main standards that were too broad. For example, Gagnon recommended splitting standard 6.5, which included information on India and China into separate standards, and doing the same for standard 7.2 covering Africa, Asia, and the Americas.

The committee’s discussion of the preliminary draft focused on the progression of topics, rather than specific content. Robert Calfee raised the issue of “developmentally appropriate” material. He questioned the seventh grade curriculum in particular, and suggested an alternative sequence where students study US history in sixth and seventh grade and then focus on modern world history in eighth grade.

Committee members followed with a flurry of suggestions for alternative sequencing: citing the framework's lack of alignment with AP courses, Judy Coddington recommended devoting ninth and tenth grade to world and eleventh and twelfth to US history; Kate Simpson suggested studying US history in eighth and ninth grade; Judith Panton encouraged including California history as part of the eighth grade curriculum; Raymond Paredes recommended an entirely different approach, creating thematic, interdisciplinary standards. A majority of committee members recommended eliminating the ninth grade elective. Overall, the committee agreed that sequencing should be "logical," but could not reach consensus over what logic should guide their decision-making process. Ultimately, Pimentel either rejected or simply ignored all suggestions for alternative sequencing models.⁹³

Between January and the end of March, Pimentel presented three additional, "preliminary" drafts of the content standards to the History-Social Science Committee. The basic structure and scope of the standards remained unchanged throughout these drafts. Pimentel and her small writing team, however, made dozens of edits: moving, splitting, combining, adding, and eliminating standards; revising the wording of the document; and adding and eliminating people, events, verbs, and skills to the bullet points under each standard.

Most of the changes made to the preliminary drafts of the standards originated as suggestions from a small group of content experts and educational organizations. In the Second Preliminary Draft, for example, Pimentel added several civics and economic standards across grade levels based upon the comments of Charles Bahmueller, the founder of the Center for Civics Education and co-author of the

National Civics Standards, and Jim Charkins, the executive director of the California Council of Economics Education.⁹⁴ Bahmueller and Charkins' suggestions resulted in new and revised standards for the twelfth grade government and economics sequence, along with additional, main standards in fourth, eighth, and eleventh grade - for example standard 8.5 "Students explain the meaning of American citizenship" and standard 11.2 "Students explain the fundamental values and principles of the American economic system in the early 20th century."⁹⁵ Additionally Pimentel supplemented bullet points throughout the document with civics and economics topics.

Diane Ravitch, a principal author the *1987 History-Social Science Framework*, critiqued the Second Preliminary Draft of the standards. Ravitch endorsed the draft, referring to it as "superb" and even "the best and most coherent in the nation." Ravitch's only suggestions were to add Greek myths and biographies about "important men and women" to the elementary grades, to "add the collapse of the USSR in world history, and to "acknowledge the important role of Ronald Reagan in hastening the collapse of the USSR, the end of the Cold War and the advance of freedom in the world."⁹⁶ Additionally, Ravitch recommended more emphasis on India in the sixth grade. Pimentel applied all of Ravitch's suggestions to the Third Preliminary Draft of the standards.

Throughout the development process, the Academic Standards Commission met in conjunction with the science and history committees. The full commission would convene for some portion of the monthly meetings, either before or after committee meetings. Committee chairs presented updates to the full commission on

committee work and progress and discussed relevant issues. Siskind made his first report to the commission at the February meeting, briefly stating that the History-Social Science committee was making good progress. Commission members then commented on the draft standards. Judy Coddington questioned the coherence of the American history sequence split across fifth, eighth, and eleventh grade and Raymund Paredes, again, stated the standards should be aligned with standards in other subjects, primarily English-Language Arts. Although the commission had the power to make changes to the content standards, they refrained from making any specific recommendations for the history standards until their final meeting on July 1.

The History-Social Science Committee made surprisingly few contributions to the standards' initial drafts as well. Throughout their first five meetings, most of the committee's discussions focused on broad, organizational matters. Committee members raised several issues – the length, complexity, and flexibility of the standards, the need to avoid ideological biases, and the balance between content and skill - but made few specific decisions regarding the content of the standards. The committee did agree with Judy Coddington that the preliminary draft was “too knowledge based” and should focus more on “skills.” They recommended that Pimentel add verbs to all bulleted points under the main standards.⁹⁷

Unlike the History-Social Science Framework Committee, the standards committee did not have specifically defined authority over additions and edits to draft documents. Early on in the committee's work, LaTanya Wright suggested that the group determine a system for deciding what constitutes “essential content.” Later, she urged the committee to establish some “criteria for cutting content from the

standards.”⁹⁸ According to members of the committee, however, there was no agreed upon procedure for making changes to preliminary drafts. Sometimes the committee voted on decisions; often they did not. The lack of a clear mandate or protocol for drafting the standards limited the history committee’s decision making. Ultimately, Pimentel, with the assistance of Sheila Byrd and Ellen Clark, decided how to edit the standards. In order to allow the committee to track changes, she underlined additions and redacted the cuts she made to subsequent drafts of the standards. Consider, for example, the final bullet point in standard 11.8 from the Third Preliminary Draft, produced after Ravitch’s comments (Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2: Example of Track Changes⁹⁹

<p>11.8: Students analyze and explain the multiple, and sometimes conflicting aims and effects of United States foreign policy in the twentieth century and its impact on the home front.</p> <p><i>Therefore, students:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • explain the various means used to attain the ends of U.S. foreign policy, such as diplomacy; economic, military and humanitarian aid; treaties; sanctions; military intervention; covert action; and peacekeeping... • evaluate goals and results of the Marshall Plan, Truman Doctrine, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, United Nations and their importance <u>in shaping the modern world</u> • <u>evaluate the landscapes of the Nuclear Age, the images of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, atomic testing in the American West, and missile defense sites and shelters</u> • analyze the origins and <u>geopolitical</u> consequences (foreign and domestic) of the Cold War, including the major foreign policies of the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson, Nixon, and Reagan administrations • explain the communist containment policies in Europe, Latin America, and Asia • <u>evaluate the role of the Reagan Administration</u> and the victory of the West as they are related to the end of the Cold War and the <u>collapse of the Soviet Union</u> fall of communism, Gorbachev, John Paul II, and Ronald Reagan.

The California Council for the Social Studies (CCSS) was one of the organizations that influenced Pimentel’s preliminary drafting of the standards. The CCSS submitted two response papers that included grade-by-grade analysis of the

drafts and recommendations for edits and additions. Overall, the reports were positive – particularly in regard to the eighth, tenth, and eleventh grade standards. However, the CCSS claimed that several standards and concepts in the sixth and seventh grade curriculum were too advanced and questioned whether the seventh grade sequence was “doable in the single academic year.”¹⁰⁰ As she would with other reviews, Pimentel implemented some of the CCSS’s recommendations and ignored others. For example, she eliminated a bullet point in standard 6.4 that called for students to analyze and compare “the patterns of social and political interaction in Athens and Sparta” after the CCSS questioned the “developmental appropriateness” of the standard for sixth grade students. The CCSS made a similar claim about a seventh grade standard where, in studying Medieval Europe, students would “analyze the connection in Europe of feudalism to the origin of government by contract.”¹⁰¹ In this case, however, Pimentel retained the bullet point. In accord to other CCSS recommendations, Pimentel added a bullet to the seventh grade Reformation standard that read “describe how the Counter-Reformation revitalized the Catholic church and describe the forces that propelled the movement.”¹⁰² She also cut standard 10.5 on world religions in order to alleviate what the CCSS called an “already overburdened 10th grade curriculum.”¹⁰³

When presenting *Preliminary Draft #3* to the History-Social Science Committee, Pimentel noted that her edits were, in part, responses to “comments from Diane Ravitch, the CA Council for the Social Studies and other groups.”¹⁰⁴ One of these “other groups” was the Council for Islamic Education (CIE). Founded in 1990 and based in Southern California, the CIE employs Muslim and secular academics to

review education materials for world history and presents itself as a mainstream organization. Critics (including Diane Ravitch), however, have denounced the group for political advocacy. By not mentioning the Council's recommendations, Pimentel, similar to Siskind's decision against inviting Nash and Fonte to speak, steered the history committee away from a potentially polarizing series of issues and debates.

The CIE issued three critiques of the sixth, seventh, and tenth grade standards. These were the most detailed and critical reviews of the standards drafts. The reports provided largely academic criticism of the content and historiography of individual standards. In its initial report the Council argued that, overall, the standards offered "a set of purported facts and fixed interpretations that are to be absorbed without question;" that they were "topically and chronologically disjointed, shallow in sampling from the fund of global historical knowledge, haphazard... and downright eccentric in places."¹⁰⁵ The report criticized the Western focus of the standards for neglecting other parts of the world, but also for providing shallow treatment of Western Civilizations. The CIE concluded that the standards were based upon an "outmoded" interpretation of history that promoted the memorization of facts and failed to draw connections between civilizations and across periods of time.

Pimentel ignored most of the CIE's three, single-spaced twenty-page reports. The writing team did, however, make several edits based upon the Council's suggestions. These included re-ordering many of the bulleted, sub-standards in the sixth and seventh grade to place them in chronological order. Pimentel's team also incorporated several of the CIE's suggestions for re-wording parts of standards. The Council's most direct contribution came to the seventh grade standard on Islam

between the seventh and tenth centuries. Pimentel and the writing team adopted most of the Council’s suggestions for the standard, in some instances almost word or word (Figure 2.3). The only part of standard 7.2 not suggested or written by the CIE was the reference to “military conquest” in 7.2.4. The Council wrote a three page, single spaced rebuke of the sub-standard and suggested an alternative to read “map and

Figure 2.3: Council of Islamic Education’s suggestions italicized.¹⁰⁶

First Preliminary Draft¹⁰⁷	Final Committee Draft¹⁰⁸
<p>7.1: Students describe and analyze the conditions and forces for change and continuity in the development of the Arab civilization between the seventh and tenth centuries, with emphasis on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the origin, traditions, customs, beliefs, and spread of Islam; the life of Mohammed; and the influence on daily life in the region, the code of ethics, and rule of law • the expansion of the Arab Empire, including the conquered areas and policy toward conquered peoples • geographic and economic significance of the trade routes between Asia and Europe • the influence of geography on the economic, social, and political development of the empire through the Middle East, through North and sub-sharan Africa, to Spain, and east through Persia to India and Indonesia 	<p>7.2 Students analyze the geographic, political, economic, religious, and social structures of civilizations of Islam in the middle ages, in terms of:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>the physical features and climate of the Arabian peninsula, its relationship to surrounding bodies of land and water and the relationship between nomadic and sedentary ways of life</i> 2. <i>the origins of Islam and the life and teachings of Mohammed</i> 3. <i>the significance of the Qur'an and the Sunnah as the primary sources of Islamic beliefs, practice and law, and their influence in Muslim's daily life</i> 4. <i>the expansion of Muslim rule through military conquests and treaties, emphasizing the cultural blending within Muslim civilization and the spread of Islam and the Arabic language</i> 5. <i>the growth of cities and the trade routes created among Asia, Africa and Europe and the products and inventions that traveled along these routes (e.g., spices, textiles, paper, steel, new crops)</i> 6. <i>the intellectual exchanges among Muslim scholars of Eurasia and Africa and the contributions Muslim scholars made to later civilizations in the areas of science, geography, mathematics, philosophy, medicine, art, and literature.</i>

describe the expansion of Muslim rule and the subsequent spread of Islam emphasizing the cultural blending within Muslim civilization and the spread of Islam and the Arabic language.” Pimentel, however, ignored the suggestion.¹⁰⁹

In order to prepare an official draft for the first round of public hearings, the History Committee scheduled its sixth meeting to take place over the first two days of April. The meeting’s agenda called for a comprehensive, grade-by-grade review of the Fourth Preliminary Draft of the content standards. Committee members discussed a range of topics, but limited their decisions to a few additions and small edits to the standards. For example, Raymond Paredes suggested that Marianno Guadalupe Vallejo be added to standard 4.3’s list of people to study in order to understand the effect of the Gold Rush on California, a list that already included John Sutter, Sam Brannan, and Phoebe Aperson Hearst. During public comment, Priscilla Porter, a history professor at Cal State-Dominguez Hills, recommended the re-insertion of Abigail Adams and the cutting of Molly Pitcher, in standard 5.4’s analysis of “role of individuals” in the Revolutionary War. The committee also recommended numbering the bullet points under each main standard to help focus public comments and reviews. Pimentel made all four changes.

The History-Social Science Committee’s two-day meeting began with a discussion on the Analysis/Skills standards. Throughout the drafting process, Pimentel and the writing team had stripped these standards of content. The committee debated whether or not to keep them at the end of each grade level, move them to the beginning, or integrate them throughout the content standards. Without making a

decision, the conversation quickly turned to the topic of verbs used in the content standards. Pimentel noted that, in line with the committee's suggestion, she had attempted to eliminate the verbs "identify" and "define" as they implied lower level thinking skills. She pointed out that the most common verbs in the draft were "describe," "explain," and "analyze." Pimentel also questioned whether the verb "understand" should appear more regularly in the standards and, according to the minutes, "noted that 'understand' is thought to be less measurable than some verbs, but that it does have the advantage of communicating the full range of rigorous skills and knowledge embedded in each standard."¹¹⁰ Highlighting the subjectivity of verb/skill taxonomies, Raymond Paredes added that he associated "describe" and "explain" with "rote learning" and preferred the verbs "consider" and "examine."¹¹¹

The committee concluded the April 1st meeting by discussing the issue of flexibility in the world history sequence. Members agreed to allow for some choice in the 10th grade, modifying standard 10.4 to read "Students analyze patterns of global change in the era of western nationalism and imperialism in at least two of the following countries: Africa, Southeast Asia, China, India, Latin America, and the Philippines."¹¹² The next day, however, they split over a similar element of choice in the sixth and seventh grade curriculum. The committee was unable to decide whether to include more content and allow for teachers and schools to decide what to focus on, or to scale back on content, with the assumption that teachers and students would cover all of the information in the standards. Those advocating the former approach stressed the importance of creating a flexible document, while supporters of the latter argued that such choice would make assessment of the standards difficult. Ultimately,

Pimentel decided to draw attention to the issue in the first draft of the standards and solicit input from the public.

The History-Social Science Committee’s limited and inconsistent decision making during these meetings was due, in part, to sporadic attendance. Only four members, less than half of the full committee, were able to attend the meetings: Panton, Paredes, Petrossian, and Treadway on the first day; and, Calfee, Paredes, Simpson, and Treadway on the second. In fact, meeting attendance was uneven throughout the development process. Not one of the History-Social Science Committee meetings was fully attended; and, most drew five or fewer members (Figure 4). It appears that, having served on the commission for over two years – traveling from throughout the state to Sacramento on a monthly basis – committee members were suffering from standards fatigue. As Robert Calfee recalled, by the time the commission turned its attention to history, members were “getting tired” and “losing steam.” Sparse attendance may have restricted the decision making power of the committee, but it also facilitated the process by minimizing debate. Having worked through its agenda, the committee was able to hold the second day of the meeting to a brief, two hour morning session.

Figure 2.4: History Committee Attendance

Meeting	Present	Absent
11-6-97	8	1
12-1-97	5	4
1-15-98	5	4
2-11-98	6	3
3-12-98	8	1
4-1-98	4	5
4-2-98	4	5
5-6-98	4	5
6-11-98	5	4

The History-Social Science Committee's limited actions on the standards mirrored that of the larger Academic Standards Commission. Throughout the development process, the science and performance standards pushed history-social science to the back of the full commission's agenda. Disputes over selecting a contractor, which resulted in working with two sets of advisory groups, sidetracked the Science Committee and consumed much the full commission's attention. Moreover, the debate over performance standards (see chapter three) also proved time consuming. Faced with pending deadlines, the commission focused on different options for developing performance standards. This led to heated debates that further diminished time spent on history standards. In fact, the history standards were not discussed at all during the commission's March meeting. At the April meeting, Alice Pertrossian, filling in for Siskind, provided a brief overview of the History Committee's work, followed by a short discussion where commissioner Judith Panton applauded the rigor of the preliminary draft, but questioned whether the standards were "reasonable and attainable." She recommended that "experts in childhood development" review future drafts.¹¹³ Panton's comments were the only remarks made regarding history standards at full commission meetings between February and May.

First and Second Official Drafts

On April 6, after four preliminary drafts, the Academic Standards Commission released the first official draft of the *History-Social Science Content Standards* to the public. The Commission asked 118 people to review the draft. Of this group, sixty-two agreed, and forty actually wrote reviews, although only twenty-three were submitted

by the requested deadline of April 20.¹¹⁴ The Commission also scheduled four public hearings across the state to allow for public comment on the science and history standards. The hearings took place in San Diego, Riverside, Pleasanton, and Eureka, between the April 28th and May 1. In all, only sixty-three people publicly commented on the history-social science standards at these meetings.

In his brief account of the *History-Social Science Content Standards*, Andrew LaSpina described the first draft of the standards, as “dismal,” and claimed that “reaction to the draft was overwhelmingly negative.”¹¹⁵ This is a mischaracterization. In fact, public comments and expert reviews of the draft were decidedly mixed. Of the twenty-three critiques submitted to the Standards Commission, twelve were very positive. Endorsements came largely from conservative academics who had led the attack on the National History Standards. Walter McDougall, John Fonte, and Sheldon Stern, for example, all enthusiastically supported the draft. Many of these reviews reiterated arguments surrounding the National Standards debate. McDougall, a professor of European diplomacy at the University of Pennsylvania who had blasted the National Standards,¹¹⁶ commended Pimentel’s draft for its “excellent balance...between a concentration on the origins and evolution of American government and society, and an explanation of how other world cultures have evolved over time.” He warned against modifying too much of what he considered a strong draft.¹¹⁷ Fonte echoed these sentiments, but called for even more focus on Western civilizations. “Why strengthen the sections on the West?,” he asked in his review, “Because as Yale professor Donald Kagan reminds us the United States is ‘a country that was never a nation in the sense of resting on common ancestry but one that

depends on a set of beliefs and institutions deriving from Western tradition.”¹¹⁸

Sheldon Stern offered “kudos to the authors of the standards” for mentioning the slave trade amongst Sub-Saharan Civilizations in the sixth grade standards, noting that “the national standards left out ‘slaves’ in a pathetic politically correct distortion of African history before the European slave trade.”¹¹⁹

Gary Nash, on the other hand, found the first draft of the standards “very defective.” He claimed that the standards “were out of date” and appeared developed by “persons not well-read in the last forty or fifty years of historical scholarship...and from the vantage point of someone not acquainted with California or the West.” Focusing on the American sequence, Nash contented that the standards were “deeply marred by inattention to Native American, Asian American, and Hispanic American history.” He also argued that the treatment of African-American and women throughout the document was lacking and concluded that “these standards ignore the attempts of the *California History Social-Science Framework* to provide a more multicultural curriculum that is relevant to the lives of the state’s public school students.”¹²⁰

Suzanne Cahill - a historian of medieval China and, at the time, the Director of the San Diego site of the California History and Social Science Project - shared Nash’s concerns. In her review, Cahill argued that “cultural inclusiveness and multidisciplinary approaches are important contributions of the Framework” that the content standards “diminished,” rather than “built upon.” She also maintained that many of the standards were “too long and confusing,” “too detailed,” and “too restrictive” and suggested greater simplicity and more flexibility in the next draft.¹²¹

While most expert reviews came from academics, speakers at the public hearings were primarily district administrators, teachers, and parents. Few people at these meetings fully endorsed or rejected the standards. Most offered suggestions for content to add. However, the two most common criticisms were that the standards contained too much content (twenty-three percent) and that they did not include enough minority and non-western perspectives (twenty-one percent). Some found the standards rigorous while others, primarily teachers, questioned their developmental appropriateness – the third most frequent criticism heard at public hearings.¹²²

On May 6, the History-Social Science Committee met to discuss critiques of the draft standards. Siskind opened the meeting by introducing six questions raised at the public hearings for the committee to address:

- 1) Was there too much material in the standards?
- 2) Should the committee include review standards at the beginning of each grade?
- 3) Was geography properly integrated throughout the standards?
- 4) Were “diversity issues relating to minorities, women, religious groups, and indigenous people” properly addressed?
- 5) Should there be more California history?
- 6) How should skill standards be presented?

Pimentel added questions from her summary of expert reviews: Should there be more emphasis on religion? Were civil rights adequately addressed? Was the treatment of Native Americans adequate? How should the committee determine which examples to include in the document?¹²³ Any mention of formatting and allowing teacher choice in the sixth and seventh grade standards was conspicuously missing from the agenda.

Once again, sparse attendance limited the committee’s range of discussion and decisions. Only four of nine members attended the meeting: Siskind, Paredes,

Simpson, and Wright. The group, moreover, addressed some but not all of the questions that Siskind and Pimentel raised in a meeting lasting less than two hours. Rather than determine specific content to cut, the committee recommended “eliminating any redundancies” in the standards. Siskind suggested adding a statement to the introduction stressing that the “lists of exemplars” - usually appearing in parentheses within the sub-standards - were “illustrative, not exclusive.” Moreover, the committee decided to insert “e.g.” rather than “i.e.” before these lists in order to convey the suggestive nature of the content (Figure 2.5). They also agreed to include

Figure 2.5: Example of “Exemplars” List: Second Draft – History-Social Science Standards

8.8.3 drawing from biographies, journals, and diaries and other original documents, describe the role of pioneer women and the new status that western women achieved (e.g., Sacagawea, Annie Bidwell, slave women gaining freedom in the west, Wyoming granting suffrage to women in 1869) ¹²⁴
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more references to California throughout the American history sequence and determined that the draft included enough geography. In regard to review standards, the committee decided to include a paragraph introducing each grade level that connected the standards to previous grades.

Acknowledging the trade-off between inclusiveness and manageability, Siskind introduced the topic of diversity by recommending that “for every piece of content added, something needs to be removed.”¹²⁵ Committee suggestions, however, only involved a few additions. Both Paredes and Siskind suggested that contributions of African-Americans be added to the eighth grade standards on the Civil War and Western Expansion. LaTanya Wright, the one stay at home parent on the committee, urged a greater emphasis on religious issues throughout the standards. Paredes claimed that the standards did “not pay enough attention to the contradictions of the

Constitution, particularly over the issue of slavery.” Finally, just before concluding the meeting, Siskind recommended, and the three other committee members agreed, that the analysis standards should appear throughout the document in “spans” rather than “grade-by-grade.”¹²⁶

Pimentel and her team applied most of Siskind, Paredes, and Wright’s suggestions to the second draft of the standards. They began consolidating the analysis skills to place them at the beginning of Kindergarten, sixth grade, and ninth grade and changed all “i.e.s” to “e.g.s” throughout the document. They also included references to slavery in both the fifth and eighth grade treatment of the Constitution and added a new section to standard 8.11 on Reconstruction that read: “2. Map and describe the push-pull factors in the movement of former slaves to the cities in the North and the West, and their differing experiences in those regions (e.g., the experiences of Buffalo Soldiers).”¹²⁷

These edits, however, were a small fraction of the changes the writing team made to the first draft of the standards. Most of their revisions came from expert reviews of the standards, and were never discussed by the History-Social Science Committee, or the full Academic Standards Commission. Pimentel, along with fellow consultants Sheila Byrd and Ellen Clark, added, cut, and consolidated standards across grades. In some instances, they reinserted standards, or parts of standards, cut from previous drafts. Furthermore, while some “expert reviewers” contributed more than others – crafting primary standards and multiple sub-standards – the writing team incorporated at least one suggestion from most of the reviews that the commission received.

Pimentel sought to balance revisions from across the political spectrum. For example, the writing team developed two new, primary standards for the eighth grade in response to suggestions made by Nash. The first, standard 8.9, called for students “to analyze the early and steady attempts to abolish slavery and realize the ideals of the Declaration of Independence” and the second focused on the American West between 1800 and 1850.¹²⁸ Furthermore, they added sub-standards about Native American treaties in the early national period, the lives of free black Americans in the antebellum North, along with federal Indian policy and the labor movement during the Industrial Era based upon Nash’s suggestions. However, the team also made several edits that mirrored recommendations by John Fonte, who believed “sections on historic Western civilizations could be strengthened.” They created a new, opening standard on the Roman Empire for the seventh grade, which included a sub-standard on Orthodox Christianity; they also added a sub-standard on the Reconquista to the Medieval Europe standard and added, in standard 7.4 that the expansion of Muslim rule during the Middle Ages happened “through military conquests.”¹²⁹ In the eleventh grade, the writing team included a sub-standard on the Americanization movement, after Fonte suggested that “students should understand the success of the Americanization policy when studying the large scale immigration of this period.” In his rationale for this addition, Fonte added, “perhaps nothing illustrates the success of the 20th century Americanization movement more than American unity in World War II, when Japanese-Americans, Italian-Americans, German-Americans, Hungarian-Americans fought shoulder to shoulder with other Americans against the Axis powers.”¹³⁰

One of the biggest changes between the first two drafts of the standards was the addition and editing of religious content. Pimentel and her team added primary standards on religion in fifth, eighth, tenth, and eleventh grade. The new, opening standard in tenth grade, for example, read “Students understand the moral and ethical principles in ancient Greek philosophy, in Judaism and Christianity, relating their influence on the development of democratic thought.”¹³¹ Moreover, they cut standard 11.2 on the development of the American monetary system and replaced it with “Students analyze the important role that religion played in the founding of America, its lasting social and political impact, and issues regarding religion and free exercise of religion.”¹³²

Once again, the new draft sought to balance multiple interests and perspectives. Having allowed the Council for Islamic Education to write standards on Islam, Pimentel’s team incorporated most of the seventeen suggestions submitted by the Jewish Community Relations Council of San Francisco (JCRC). Founded in the 1940s, the JCRC belongs to a network of advocacy groups under the larger Jewish Council for Public Affairs. Similar to the CIE, the group has a wing that monitors education policy and curricular materials. Jackie Berman, the group’s Education Specialist, submitted recommendations primarily aimed at the sixth, seventh, and tenth grade standards. “Most of our requested changes,” Berman pointed out, “are for the purpose of inserting a Jewish dimension by adding a word or phrase to the existing material.” The council was also interested in modifying the sixth grade standard on Ancient Hebrews “for the purpose of a more accurate portrayal of early Judaism.”¹³³

The writing team applied the JCRC's suggestion almost word for word in re-writing standard 6.3 (figure 2.6).

Figure 2.6: Edits Made by JCRC to Standard 6.3 in Italics

First Draft ¹³⁴	Second Draft ¹³⁵
<p><u>Ancient Hebrews</u></p> <p>Therefore, students:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. explain the significance of Judaism as a monotheistic religion 2. draw from ethical teachings and the Torah to explain the ancient Hebrew's concepts of wisdom, righteousness, law, and justice (e.g., the Commandments, Abraham, Moses, Ruth, Naomi, David, psalms, and proverbs) 3. explain the settlements and movements of Hebrew peoples, including movement to and from Egypt 4. explain the significance of Exodus story to the Hebrew and later people in history 5. explain how the Hebrew traditions are reflected in the moral and ethical traditions of Western civilization 	<p>Ancient Hebrews</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. explain the origins and significance of Judaism as <i>the first monotheistic religion that developed the concept of one God who sets down moral laws for humankind</i> 2. <i>describe the sources of the ethical teachings and central beliefs of Judaism (the Hebrew Bible and the Commentaries) and explain the belief in God, observance of law, practice of concepts of righteousness and justice, and importance of study</i> 3. explain how Abraham, Moses, Ruth, Naomi, David, and <i>Johanan ben Zacai influenced the development of the Jewish religion</i> 4. locate and explain the settlements and movements of Hebrew peoples, including the Exodus, the movement to and from Egypt and the significance of the Exodus experience to the Jewish people <i>as well as to other people in history</i> 5. explain how <i>the ideas of</i> the Hebrew traditions are reflected in the moral and ethical traditions of Western civilization 6. <i>explain how the practice of the Jewish religion was modified after the destruction of the second Temple in 70A.D. and describe the dispersion of the Jewish population from Jerusalem and the land of Israel</i>

Another notable addition the writers made verbatim based upon the JCRC's recommendation was sub-standard 7.4.7, expanding content on the Reformation:

Describe the “Golden Age” of cooperation between the Jews and Muslims in Medieval Spain, which promoted creativity in art, literature, and science and how it was terminated by the religious persecution of individuals and groups including the Inquisition and the expulsion of Jews and Muslims from Spain in 1492.¹³⁶

In its rationale for this standard, the JCRC asserted, in that “it is important for students to be aware that when there is tolerance and cooperation among groups, all benefit.”¹³⁷

For standards on Christianity, Pimentel’s team looked, in part, to recommendations submitted by David Barton, the former Vice-President of the Texas Republican party and founder of Wallbuilders – an organization focused on promoting history that depicts the United States as, unequivocally, a Christian nation. Barton’s influence can be seen throughout the second draft of the standards.¹³⁸ For example, standard 8.1 read “Students understand the major events preceding the founding of the nation and relate their significance to the development of American democratic institutions founded in Judeo-Christian thinking and English parliamentary traditions.”¹³⁹ Responding directly to Barton, moreover, the writing team added sub-standard 8.1.2 calling for students to “explain the philosophy of government expressed in the Declaration of Independence with an emphasis on divinely-bestowed unalienable rights of citizens.”¹⁴⁰

From the remaining expert reviews, the writers adopted various suggestions for editing the standards, some with clearly defined rationales, others without. For example, they followed Joy Hakim’s advice to add “Jefferson’s Statute for Religious Freedom” to the eighth grade standard on the Constitution after Hakim justified the inclusion by pointing out that “Bernard Bailyn – Harvard’s great American historian – has called it ‘the most important document in American history, bar none.’” The

writing team also included “Robert Elliot’s speech before Congress” in standard 8.4.2’s list of famous speeches, which Hakim simply stated that “every student should know.”¹⁴¹ In a move that would later prove controversial, the team added “explain the significance of the Aryan invasions” to the sixth grade standard on India as recommended, without a rationale, by Stanley Burstein, a history professor at California State University-Los Angeles.¹⁴² Following advice from Donald Lankiewicz of Harcourt Publishing, the writers added standard 6.6.5 “assess the policies and achievements of emperor Shi Huangdi in unifying northern China under the Qin Dynasty.”¹⁴³

Nearly all of the comments on the standards’ first draft included either suggestions for items to add or how to edit the wording of individual standards. While several reviews claimed the standards were too long and contained too much content, few recommended specific information to cut. Mary Ann Long, an administrator at Yuba City Unified Schools district, was the lone exception. Long’s review focused entirely on suggestions for consolidating and cutting standards – for example, combining and paring down the seventh grade standards on the Renaissance, Reformation, and Scientific Revolution. The writing team, however, ignored most of Long’s recommendations.

One of Pimentel’s goals for the first draft of the standards was to solicit recommendations for how to organize the sixth and seventh grade content. In order to draw attention to the issue, she included a note at the beginning of each grade that read “The commission is considering the addition of standards that would allow for the

choice of a more in-depth study of one or more of the civilizations noted here. We are interested in your comments on this proposal.”¹⁴⁴ Pimentel reformatted these standards to indicate what this type of approach might look like. For each grade, she added an introduction standard intended to guide the analysis of “civilizations” in general (Figure 2.7). The sixth grade standards then included the study of eight civilizations – Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Kush (covered in one standard); Ancient Hebrews; Ancient Greeks; Indus River Settlements; China; and, Rome. The seventh grade covered “Medieval and Early Modern civilizations of Islam, China, Ghana and Mali, Japan, Western Europe, and Meso-America.”¹⁴⁵

Figure 2.7: Proposed opening standards for the 6th and 7th Grade: First Draft¹⁴⁶

<p>6.1: When analyzing ancient civilizations, students examine the following vital components:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the religion, culture, and arts • the economic and social order • the geographic features key to the development of the civilization • the political order • connections among these civilizations • the historical contributions 	<p>7.1: When analyzing medieval and early modern civilizations, students examine the following vital components:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the on-going importance of religion and the growing importance of science • the internal economic, social, and political order • the role of geography in hindering and fostering connections among Asia, Europe, Africa, and the Americas, including the expansion and contraction of political boundaries • growing, economic, cultural and political connections • historical contributions to later civilizations
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Despite drawing attention to the issue of choice and depth in the sixth and seventh grade standards, no one at the public hearings and only a few expert reviewers addressed the topic. Both the Council for Islamic Education and the Jewish Community Relations Council were against the idea. The CIE argued that it would make statewide assessments difficult, and the JCRC claimed that it would result in

uneven instruction and encourage teachers to overlook certain topics. Four reviewers – John Fonte, Mary Ann Long, Walter MacDougall, and Joan Clemons, the Co-Director of the UCLA History-Social Science Project – favored the idea, each citing the virtues of studying material in depth. Nonetheless, Pimentel decided to eliminate the option for choice in the second official draft of the standards. Without drawing further attention to the issue at either committee or commission meetings, she cut the note at the beginning of each grade and redacted the general introductory standards.

Pimentel did not mention the origins of any specific edits or additions the writing team made to the standards when sending the official Second Draft to the History-Social Science Committee prior to their final meeting. Rather, she noted that “responding to the feedback (from experts and public testimony) was the focus of the edits this time around.” She also pointed out that, “remarkably (and fortunately), the experts were largely in accord with one another.”¹⁴⁷ Pimentel then went on to summarize “the key areas” addressed in the new draft. These included:

- history of the American Indians
- slavery and civil rights
- importance of religion in this country
- immigration and diversity issues
- adding review standards...in key grades
- adding the West to Grade 8

Whether or not Pimentel’s suggestion that experts were in agreement over these issues was a fair characterization of the reviews, it marked another instance of reducing the likelihood for debate and controversy by keeping conflicting perspectives and potentially controversial issues off of the History Committee’s public agenda.

Final Drafts

In a memo on June 2 sent to all commissioners, Ellen Wright, the chair of the Standards Commission, noted the significance of the full commission meeting scheduled for June 11. As she pointed out, this would be the last meeting before final edits to the science and history standards. “It was extremely important,” she noted, for commissioners to “take another good look at both drafts and offer...suggestions for improvement.”¹⁴⁸ Two weeks earlier however, on May 18th, Governor Wilson, citing time constraints, ordered the commission to cease working on performance standards.¹⁴⁹ This decision drew strong rebukes from several commissioners. Debate over how to respond to the governor consumed most of commission’s attention at the June 11th meeting. Eastin appointees – led by Judy Coddington, Robert Calfee, and Raymund Paredes – argued that performance standards were equally, if not more important than content standards. More conservative members, Williamson Evers and Jerry Treadway among them, downplayed the performance standards and argued that the commission could fulfill its charge by simply defining performance levels, which it had done the previous year. After lengthy discussions of the commission’s statutory duties and a series of motions regarding the performance standards, discussion of the history standards – the final item on the meeting’s agenda –was reduced to a thumbnail “walking tour” of the latest draft’s organization. Siskind concluded his final presentation to the full Standards Commission, according to minutes for the meeting, by “encouraging the commissioners to spend time reading the standards, so the commission can debate them.”¹⁵⁰ No one commented on Siskind’s report and the meeting adjourned.

Later that afternoon, the History-Social Science Committee met for the last time. They limited discussion to four topics: whether or not to include the phrase “separation of church and state” in the eighth and eleventh grade sequences; lists of examples in the standards; skill standards; and, potential changes to the twelfth grade economics standards. The five committee members in attendance made three recommendations for a final commission draft of the standards. First, after some debate over the original intent of the Founding Fathers, they agreed to reinsert references to the separation of church and state, but to add parentheses around the phrase. Next, the committee decided to limit the number of “exemplars” listed parenthetically in some sub-standards to three to five examples; they did not, however, select any specific examples to cut, or develop any rationale for including or excluding examples. Finally, the group decided, after a brief discussion where committee members once again differed over skill levels associated with verbs, to reverse an earlier decision and remove all of the verbs from the sub-standards. These recommendations were the History-Social Science Committee’s final decisions, although several more changes remained for the standards before their publication.

On June 18th, Ellen Clark sent summaries of the twenty-seven expert reviews on the Second Draft of the history standards to all members on the Academic Standards Commission. Many of these evaluations came from people who had commented on the first draft. Several reviewers indicated that revisions had, in the words of Gary Nash, resulted in “major improvements.”¹⁵¹ Even the Council for Islamic Education, which submitted a final eight pages of recommendations, claimed

the new draft was now closer to promoting “academic excellence, civic responsibility, and global understanding.”¹⁵² Most reviews were limited to suggesting small edits and additions to the draft. As a result, the writing team made less than half the number of edits to the second draft than they did to the first. The focus of the final drafting, as Pimentel explained, was to “streamline the document” by getting rid of duplications and cutting verbs from sub-standards. She pointed out that each main standard contained one verb and that “explain and describe” were prevalent in the early grades, while “analyze and evaluate” were more common in the upper grade levels.¹⁵³ The assumption here, presumably, was that the choice of verbs helped make grade level content and concepts developmentally appropriate.

The writing team did make a few notable changes to the content of the final standards draft. At the recommendation of the First Amendment Center, they cut the phrase “founded in Judeo-Christian thinking” from standard 8.1. They also cut reference to “the divinely-bestowed unalienable rights of citizens” in standard 8.1.2, but added it, as encouraged by David Barton, to standard 11.1.¹⁵⁴ In an attempt to increase the diversity of the final draft, the team added a new sub-standard on civil rights in the eleventh grade that called for students to analyze how advances by African Americans “influenced the agendas, strategies, and effectiveness of the quest of American Indians, Asians, and Hispanics for civil rights and equal opportunities.”¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, they added references to Native Americans throughout the standards based upon twelfth pages of suggestions submitted by Laura Lee George of the Indian Teacher & Educational Personnel Program at Humboldt

State University – though these were a small fraction of George’s recommendations and did not include the addition of any new major standards.¹⁵⁶

Ross Dunn, professor of world history at San Diego State University, began his review of the draft by commenting on standards cut from the first draft of the sixth and seventh grade curriculum. A major contributor to the National History Standards, and third author on Nash’s book-length account of the fight over National Standards, Dunn had been out of the country during the review period of the first draft when the decision was made against allowing for choice in the sixth and seventh grade curriculum.¹⁵⁷ He questioned why the standards asking students to compare civilizations and consider “larger issues of change” over time were cut from the second draft. He went on to encourage taking a comparative approach to world history focused on “patterns and processes” of change.¹⁵⁸

In a letter sent to the Standards Commission earlier in the year, Dunn elaborated upon this approach. He urged the commission to develop standards that would “transcend two existing, and competing models of world history education”: the western civilization model and the multi-cultural, “culture groups” model. According to Dunn, both approaches were similar in their lack of focus on the “historical interactions among peoples across regions and around the world.” Where the former was too Eurocentric for global history, the latter promoted a “civilization of the month” approach that, Dunn argued, was too incoherent for students to learn well. He encouraged the committee to take a look at the “Global Trends” sections in the National Standards for World History, which, he claimed, “offer plenty of raw materials for standard development.”¹⁵⁹

The committee never discussed the world history standards and the writing team disregarded most of Dunn's suggestions. As a result, the California history standards did not incorporate a global model of world history. Instead, after balancing recommendations from different interests, the standards developed an approach closer to Dunn's characterization of a multi-cultural model; although critics would claim the final draft remained too focused on Western history. The only two recommendations from Dunn that the writers responded to was his questioning of the deterministic phrasing of two sub-standards on the French Revolution in standard 10.2. Rather than re-write the standards, the team cut them from the final draft. Notably, Dunn encouraged the committee to cut standard 6.5.2 on the "Aryan Invasion" in Ancient India, arguing that "none of the recent scholarship" indicated it occurred, and that "Indo-Aryan is now much preferred to Aryan owing to Nazi appropriation of the later term in the 20th century."¹⁶⁰ The standard remained unedited and helped contribute to a 2005 lawsuit that the Hindu American Foundation brought against the State Board of Education over the depiction of Ancient India in state approved textbooks.

On July 1, the Academic Standards Commission met for the last time to vote on adopting the science and history standards. Judy Coddington was the only member of the history committee unable to attend the meeting. Before calling for a final vote, the commission discussed and voted on four motions. These were the only formal votes that the Academic Standards Commission took on the history-social science standards.

Williamson Evers made the first motion to remove the parentheses from references to separation of church and state in standards 8.2.5 and 11.4.5. After brief

debate, the motion passed, eleven to three, with one abstention. Raymund Paredes introduced the next motion by stating that the sixth and seventh grade standards still included too much content. Re-visiting an issue discussed by the history committee, he proposed more flexibility and choice for these grade levels and recommended a new opening standard that read, “students analyze the character and distinctiveness of three civilizations comparatively, including political traditions, economic factors, and expressive culture.” Robert Calfee seconded the motion, but it was voted down, ten to three, with two abstentions. Paredes was able to pass another motion, however, calling for an additional standard in grade twelfth that addressed “the role of identity and cultural diversity in contemporary American culture.”¹⁶¹ Williamson Evers then made the final motion on the history-social science content standards. He proposed that the commission accept eight edits to the document. These included five minor wording changes and three specific suggestions on content: deleting the Yamasee War in South Carolina from standard 5.2.3’s list of antebellum Indian conflicts; replacing John Ross with Sequoia in standard 5.2.6’s examples of influential leaders of the early national period; and substituting Hypatia for Sappho in standard 6.4.10’s list of important Greek figures in the arts and sciences. All of Evers’ recommendations passed, with the exception of replacing Sappho with Hypatia, which was voted down eight to three. After these minor changes, the Commission voted unanimously to adopt the History-Social Science Content Standards.

State Board Edits

The Assessment of Academic Achievement Act specified that “prior to the adoption of academic content and performance standards, the State Board of Education shall hold regional hearings for the purpose of giving parents and other members of the public the opportunity to comment on the proposed standards.”¹⁶² The law also gave the board power “to modify any proposed content standards or performance standards prior to adoption.” After five sparsely attended public hearings across the state in late August and the beginning of September, the Board indicated it would “probably adopt the standards” at its October meeting “with few changes.”¹⁶³

Overall, the State Board made ninety-six edits to the commission draft of the standards. Forty-seven of these edits were additions, seven included cutting information, and forty-two involved re-wording standards.¹⁶⁴ Most of the additions involved adding people or events to lists of examples. These included inserting Sally Ride, Sitting Bull, and Golda Meir to the second grade standards; Anne Hutchinson in third grade; Louis B. Meyer and John Wayne in fourth grade; the Wright Brothers and Leland Stanford in eighth; Sun Yat-Sen and Louis Pasteur in tenth; and, the Second Vatican Council in eleventh grade. The Board also added eighth sub-standards, including 10.9.4 on the Chinese Communist Revolution, and 10.5 on the Armenian Genocide, and three major standards. Most notably, they added a new standard on pre-Columbian settlements and American Indian Civilizations to the beginning of fifth grade, a version of which had been cut from the Second Preliminary Draft of the standards based on the rationale that it overlapped with a third grade standard on American Indians. The few cuts made by State Board included replacing Sacagawea with Laura Ingalls Wilder in standard 8.8.3’s list of “pioneer women” and deleting

Sappho from standard 6.4.8, thus over-ruling the Standards Commission's vote to include Sappho as an example of "an important Greek figure in the arts and sciences." On Friday, October 9, 1998, the Board voted unanimously to adopt to *History-Social Science Content Standards for California Public Schools*, one month ahead of schedule.

Conclusions/Discussion

In a press release announcing the Academic Standards Commission's adoption of the *History-Social Science Content Standards*, commission chair Ellen Wright claimed "our process welcomed public debate, excluded no one, and forged consensus."¹⁶⁵ McDonnell and Weatherford's (1999) study of the Academic Standards Commission echoed this characterization in their brief analysis of the History-Social Science committee. Explaining why the history standards were developed with "little controversy," McDonnell and Weatherford claimed that "there were no major differences in curricular philosophy that needed to be resolved" amongst committee members due to a "pre-existing consensus" over the *History-Social Science Framework*. They also argued that "most criticisms of the standards were marginal" and that the committee's "approach to writing the social studies standards was collegial and pragmatic."¹⁶⁶ In 2006, the Fordham Institute offered a similar characterization in a report titled "It Takes a Vision: How Three States Created Great Academic Standards." Author Joanne Jacobs referred to the history committee's work as the "great peace" and quoted Lawrence Siskind referring to the group as "polite" and "harmonious." While some agreement over the framework and the courtesy of

committee members certainly facilitated the development of the content standards, these characterizations are incomplete at best and misleading and superficial at worst. They fail to explain a host of factors that shaped the development of the California standards and gloss over important decisions that continue to shape history education in California today.

Historical institutionalist Paul Pierson argues that timing is instrumental to understanding cases of policy making.¹⁶⁷ History matters, Pierson argues, to identify preceding events that help shape the decision-making context. Beyond the adoption of the 1987 *History-Social Science Framework*, three preceding events in particular influenced the development of the history standards. First, and most immediately, the contentious and protracted development of math standards depleted time and energy of the commission. By the time the commission formed a History-Social Science Committee, they were nearly two years into a three-year process, and tired. Moreover, the California standards were developed in the wake of the National Standards and other state history standards – most notably, Virginia. These events produced history standards veterans who had participated in controversial adoptions and could anticipate, and in some instances, avoid issues promising to prolong or derail the development process. The Virginia standards along with other state standards, furthermore, provided templates for formatting and content – resources that facilitated the drafting of the California history standards.

Other contextual factors influenced the committee's work. The charge of the commission to develop both content and performance standards for all subjects led to a situation where science, performance, and history-social science standards were being

developed concurrently. The science and performance standards proved contentious. Science was problematic from the beginning as committee members differed over whom to contract with to write the standards. This conflict led to two separate groups developing draft science standards. Furthermore, the science committee spent more time debating the balance of content and skills in the standards, and squared off over the amount of material covered at each grade level. The performance standards were even more problematic as commission members could not agree over the definition and the purpose of these standards. Wilson's decision to end the work on performance standards resulted in further debate amongst commissioners regarding their statutory obligations and ways to respond to the Governor. All of these issues drew time, attention, and energy from the history standards.

While science and performance standards pushed history to the back of the full commission's agenda, both Lawrence Siskind and Sue Pimentel helped limit the public agenda of the History-Social Science Committee. Siskind, who largely approved of Pimentel's work, helped steer the committee through some debate but overall refrained from questioning the basic approach and specific content of the standards. Pimentel, as head writer, served as a gatekeeper on issues discussed by committee. Drawing committee members' attention to a select number of questions raised by expert reviews and specific edits made to each draft of the standards, Pimentel limited debate by keeping various contentious issues and decisions off the committee's agenda.

Most of the decisions made in developing and revising drafts of the standards - without being discussed by either the committee or the commission - lacked clear

consensus. Many of these came in the form of small edits and proved hardly noticeable – adding “divinely-bestowed” to describe the types of rights envisioned by the Founders in standard 11.1.2, or referring to the expansion of Muslim rule in the Middle Ages as “military conquests.” Others proved contentious in time, as with the sixth grade sub-standard on the Aryan Invasion, or had a dramatic effect on grade level curriculum – for example, the addition of sub-standards on the American Revolution, Civil War, Reconstruction and nineteenth-century religious movements that extended the scope of the eleventh grade standards well beyond their original starting point in the Progressive Era. Other issues discussed in public were never endorsed by a clear quorum of commission or committee members. The decision not to allow teacher choice and flexibility in the sixth and seventh grade, for example, fell off the history committee’s agenda and was only briefly addressed by the full commission. More reviewers actually supported rather than opposed the idea of choice in these grades. Finally, some decisions made consensually or democratically by the history committee or the Standards Commission were simply ignored by the writing team or overturned by the State Board of Education. For example, after the Standards Commission adopted the history standards, the writing team decided to put verbs back into the sub-standards – a decision never discussed in public.

Although the Standards Commission presented the final draft of the standards as the “essential content that every student should know,” neither the History-Social Science Committee nor the commission ever defined what made content essential. They never discussed a rationale for determining rigor of standards or what constitutes developmentally appropriate material, despite the fact that several commentators

raised the issue repeatedly. Instead, the committee addressed these topics with a few, general decisions. They placed “e.g.” in front of parenthetical lists of examples and decided to limit these lists to three to five “exemplars” per sub-standard. They also attempted to include a progression of verbs, from lower to higher order, across the standards; however, they never fully agreed upon the skills associated with different verbs.

Some committee members, public commentators, and expert reviewers provided rationales for their suggested edits and additions; most, however did not. The majority of rationalizations addressed issues of representation or disputed historiography. The few that mentioned essential content connected it to citizenship. These recommendations were resigned to standards focused on America’s democratic ideas and institutions – for example, including the Magna Carta, Mayflower Compact, and English Bill of Rights to standard 8.2’s analysis of the “political principles underlying the U.S. Constitution.” The lack of an over-arching rationale or criteria for determining content led to several additions and subtractions of events and people that appear more arbitrary, or even capricious, than essential – this was particularly evident in the lists of exemplars (Figure 2.8).

Figure 2.8: The Evolution of Standard 8.9.1¹⁶⁸

First Draft

8.9.5: Draw on biographies to explain the abolitionist movement and its leaders including Theodore Weld, William Lloyd Garrison, David Walker, Frederick Douglass, John Brown, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Charles Redmond, and Sojourner Truth

Second Draft

8.9.1: Draw on biographies to explain the abolitionist movement and its leaders (e.g., role of the Quakers and Anthony Benezet, Benjamin Rush and the First Abolition Societies, John Quincy Adams and his proposed Constitutional Amendment, John Brown and the armed resistance, Harriet Tubman and the Underground Railroad, William Jay, Theodore Weld, William Lloyd Garrison,

David Walker, Frederick Douglass, John Brown, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Charles Redmond, Richard Allen, Absalom Jones, Crispus Attucks, Phyllis Wheatley, Benjamin Banneker)

Final Draft

8.9.1: Describe the leaders of the movement (e.g., John Quincy Adams and his proposed constitutional amendment, John Brown and the armed resistance, Harriet Tubman and the Underground Railroad, Benjamin Franklin, Theodore Weld, William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass).

If a consensus did come together around the history standards, it was due largely to people or groups who submitted recommendations that were incorporated into the standards. This type of additive consensus led to endorsements from a range of organizations –from the Center of Islamic Education to the conservative Fordham Foundation. Pimentel and her writing team worked to balance suggestions from across the political and religious spectrum. This balance is evident throughout the standards. Take, for example, the development of standard 7.10.6, a sub-standard on the Scientific Revolution (Figure 9), from its preliminary to final draft version, and notice its treatment of science (italicized).

Figure 2.9: Additive Consensus¹⁶⁹

Second Preliminary Draft

“Connections between the scientific revolution and Greek rationalism; *Muslim science*, Renaissance humanism, and new global knowledge”

Second Official Draft

“Connections between the scientific revolution and Greek rationalism; *Jewish and Muslim science*, Renaissance humanism, and new global knowledge”

Final Committee Draft

“Connections between the scientific revolution and Greek rationalism; *Jewish, Christian, and Muslim science*, Renaissance humanism, and new global knowledge”

To refer to the content standards as a consensus document, however, is an oversimplification. There were clear winners and losers in this process, and a number of groups and people remain critical, if not dismissive, of the *History Social Science*

*Content Standards.*¹⁷⁰ Where the Fordham Foundation awarded the standards “A” grades for clarity, rigor, and lack of bias, Gary Nash gave them a “B-.”¹⁷¹ Contrary to McDonnell and Weatherford’s depiction, moreover, there were “philosophical differences” both within the history committee and amongst reviewers and public commentators regarding the standards. Dunn’s vision of global history, Nash’s multiculturalism, Parede’s suggestions for a thematic, cross-disciplinary approach, Coddling’s appeals for skill-centered standards, and even Paul Gagnon’s suggestion for more content along with flexibility for teacher choice, all constituted alternative visions and directions not taken by the History-Social Science Committee and Standards Commission.

Furthermore, while most who participated in the development process contributed something to the final draft of the standards, several groups did not participate. For example, advocates for Hindu, Sikh, Korean, or any other Asian group did not submit public comment or expert review to the history committee or standards commission, nor did any labor organizations. As a result, there are no examples of Asians or South-Asians in the history standards, and labor movements are only mentioned in three sub-standards. All of these groups went on to lobby the Department of Education for more representation following the State Board’s adoption of the standards, and each was conspicuously active in the latest adoption of the *History-Social Science Framework*.

Overall, compared to the adoption of the 1987 Framework that drew over 500 commentators, and the Virginia standards that attracted nearly 5,000 people to state-wide adoption hearings, the development of the California history standards was

sparsely attended. Scott Hill, who became the Executive Director of the Standards Commission during the debate over math standards, attributed the low turnout at history committee meetings and hearings to a lack of awareness over “how important the standards were going to be in driving the fundamental behavior of education.” Many people “who would have been involved, such as teacher groups, school boards, and administrators,” Hill maintained, “did not have a sense...that the standards were likely going to change the daily practice and behavior of educators in California.”¹⁷² The Department of Education posted drafts of standards on-line, announced public hearings, and contacted district curriculum administrators about the standards process; however, media coverage of the Academic Standards Commission was limited. Between the Sacramento Bee, the San Francisco Chronicle, the San Jose Mercury News, and the LA Times only seven articles covered the development of the history standards throughout 1998.

Finally, it is important to note that the work of the Standards Commission was cut short and, considered by some, incomplete. Not attempting to develop performance standards significantly lightened what turned out to be the Commission’s unrealistic workload. Developing and describing levels of performance for the standards, would have shifted the Commission’s focus from content to assessment. As the next chapter explores, the Assessment of Academic Achievement Act was primarily testing legislation, passed to create a new state assessment program in the wake of the State Department’s highly controversial and short-lived California Learning Assessment System (CLAS). When the Academic Standards Commission began its work in 1995, assessment was arguably a more contentious topic then

content, in particular, history-social science content. However, by not developing performance standards, the commission ceded its influence on how the content standards would be assessed – the subject we turn to next.

Chapter Three

Measuring Standards: The California Standards Tests for History-Social Science

Along with the framework and the content standards, the California Standards Tests for History-Social Science constitute one of the primary policy documents for history education in California. The purpose of these criterion-referenced, multiple-choice exams, according to the Department of Education, is “to measure how well students...are achieving state-adopted standards.”¹⁷³ Cut scores divide test results to identify five different categories of performance: advanced, proficient, basic, below basic, and far below basic. The Department of Education’s goal is for all students to be “proficient” on these tests; results are tied to accountability policies that provide both positive and negative incentives for schools and districts to improve test scores.

While the framework and history standards have inspired several analyses and commentaries, few have taken a careful look at the California history tests. Recent literature on history assessments has overlooked California.¹⁷⁴ And, despite calls for independent evaluations of state testing programs, no one has conducted a systematic analysis of these tests.¹⁷⁵ This oversight can be attributed to two primary factors. First, California’s history tests are relatively low stakes: their results do not figure into student promotion or graduation and account for between eight to fifteen percent of a school’s Academic Performance Index (API) – the state’s measure of a school’s achievement for the year. Furthermore, developed primarily by the Educational Testing Service (ETS), the California Standards Tests are products of a closed process. Unlike the framework and the content standards, the tests are not available to the public. The State Department publishes sample items from previous exams, but does

not release full test forms. Moreover, test development and review happens, for the most part, at private meetings without public comment or published minutes.

Despite the lack of attention paid to California's history tests, these exams are arguably the most important piece of the state's standards-based reforms for history education. For one, research across states and subjects, has indicated that the format and content of state tests influence classroom organization, instruction, and learning.¹⁷⁶ When combined with incentives, moreover, assessments can change the nature of other state curriculum documents – turning suggested content into mandated curriculum.

What follows is an examination of the *California Standards Tests for History-Social Science*. It revolves around a fairly straightforward set of questions: What is the purpose of these tests? What is their format and content? How were they developed? How do they measure the *History-Social Science Content Standards*? On one level these questions are easy to address. A cursory visit to the California Department of Education's web-site would suffice. However, this chapter explores the more fundamental question of *why* California's history tests developed, are formatted, and align with state standards in particular ways. Answers to these questions are grounded in an array of historical, political, and institutional factors. To address them, this chapter begins by tracing California's testing policies over the past twenty-five years – focusing on state tests for history-social science under the California Assessment Program (CAP) in the 1980s, the ill-fated California Learning Assessment System (CLAS) of the early 1990s, and the current Standardized Testing and Reporting

(STAR) program. This chapter then turns to the California Standards Tests for History-Social Science. It describes the format and organization of the exams, their technical development, and how they are used by the California Department of Education. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the alignment between state tests and the content standards they measure.

The California Assessment Program: “Higher Level Thinking”

The passage of the Hughes-Hart Education Act in 1983 marked the official beginning of state testing for history-social science in California. A landmark, omnibus reform bill, Hughes-Hart called for the expansion of the California Assessment Program (CAP) to include history-social science tests at grades six, eight, ten, and twelve.

The California State Department of Education has been involved in state-wide testing for public education since 1961 when, on advice of the Citizens Advisory Committee, it began requiring that school districts conduct annual achievement testing. At first, assessment was decentralized as districts assumed most of the responsibility for testing, selecting different tests from a list approved by the state. Throughout the 1960s, the State Department took more control of testing, establishing rules for districts on which grades to test, what tests to take, and how to report results. Legislation in 1973 provided funding for a uniform state-testing program. The state first fully implemented the California Assessment Program in the spring of 1975.

Two primary goals of CAP were to provide data for evaluating school, district, and state programs, and minimize the amount of time spent on testing.¹⁷⁷ Test results

for individual students and classrooms remained under the purview of district testing programs; however, the state retained requirements for local testing and mandated minimum competency tests for reading, writing, and math, in part, to distribute and monitor federal Title 1 funds of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965). To limit time spent testing, the state relied on matrix sampling, pioneered by the Stanford University psychometrician (and former president of the American Psychological Association) Lee Cronbach of Stanford University. Cronbach headed the Advisory Committee on Testing that developed the CAP assessments in the 1970s. Matrix sampling involved creating a large bank of test items and administering them in several different test forms each with around twenty to thirty items. This approach, the Department of Education stressed, cut the school testing time “from three or four hours to approximately 35 minutes” yet still “provided reliable data on a broad array of curricular objectives.”¹⁷⁸

The Hughes-Hart legislation aimed to both expand and improve the California Assessment Program. Initially, CAP assessed students at grades one, three, six, and twelve in written language, reading, and math, all using multiple choice exams. The law called for additional testing in eighth and tenth grade and the development of history and science tests first for eighth grade, then tenth, and eventually in sixth and twelfth grade. The new tests, moreover, were supposed to move beyond minimum competency. The Department of Education’s 1983-84 annual report on student achievement pointed out that new assessments would provide “more information and better information.” “The call for higher standards,” the authors of the report claimed, “requires test information on how well students can solve problems, think critically,

think logically and perform other higher-level thinking tasks.”¹⁷⁹ One of the primary assumptions of the new testing policy, promoted by academics and echoed throughout educational circles at the time, was that testing drove instruction – both in terms of what was taught and how it was taught.¹⁸⁰ The Department of Education set out to create tests that, in conjunction with subject frameworks, would help raise expectations for public schools, promote rigorous instruction, and improve student performance.

Throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s, the California Council for the Social Studies (CCSS) - the state’s largest organization for social studies educators and a branch of the National Council for the Social Studies - had lobbied both the legislature and State Board of Education to include history-social science in CAP testing.¹⁸¹ According to Paul Clark, a former Council president, the CCSS believed that the state’s focus on reading and math had led to “declining instructional time given to history in the elementary grades.”¹⁸² In 1982, the group’s efforts paid off when the legislature awarded the State Department funds for developing an eighth grade history-social science test. To begin the process, the State Board of Education created the “History-Social Science Advisory Committee.” This committee, chaired by Clark, eventually grew to over fifty members and consisted primarily of teachers, district administrators, and academics from across the state, with heavy participation by CCSS members.

The committee’s first step was to determine what content to test. In early 1983, they collected 1,100 “scope-and-sequence” surveys from history-social science teachers across the state. They also analyzed state adopted textbooks and history tests

from other states. Based upon this work and the content outlined in the 1981 *History-Social Science Framework*, the committee devised a test divided into four content areas presumably taught between fourth and eighth grade: U.S. History, Citizenship/Government, World History/Cultures, and Geography/Economics. During the 1983-1984 school year, over 700 teachers participated in a series of multiple-choice item writing workshops to help create the initial bank of items for the eighth grade test. The State Department field-tested 4,000 test items in the spring and fall of 1984. 29,000 students took 117 different forms of the eighth grade test, and 2000 teachers completed surveys regarding test items.¹⁸³ The Advisory Committee selected a final bank of questions based upon teacher recommendations and after calculating the level of difficulty of each item and whether or not questions discriminated by gender or ethnicity.¹⁸⁴

The following year, eighth grade students took the first CAP test for history-social science. The exam consisted of 720 multiple choice items divided into thirty-six forms with twenty questions each. The State Department reported school results in six primary categories: US History, Government, World History, Geography, Basic Skills, and Critical Thinking Skills. Basic skill and critical thinking questions were spread throughout the four main topic areas, along with questions focused on “knowledge.” Each category included results for specific sub-categories, which in turn served as the constructs that the test measured. US History scores, for example, were reported across four sub-categories:

1. Knowledge of the ideals, institutions, and values of the United States
2. Knowledge of the influence of geography on the history of the United States and California

3. Knowledge of the significant issues events, and episodes that have shaped the development of the United States and California
4. Knowledge of the contributions of individual men and women and of diverse groups to the political economic, social, and cultural development of the United States and California¹⁸⁵

Although all the questions on the test were multiple-choice, the Department of Education stressed in the annual CAP report for 1985 that the History Advisory Committee attempted to “limit the use of knowledge items that emphasize rote recall.” The report claimed that “at least 40 percent of the test questions...addressed critical thinking skills.”¹⁸⁶

Figure 3.1: Sample CAP Items: Sample Knowledge Questions¹⁸⁷

Reporting Category: US History	Reporting Category: World History
<i>Knowledge of the influence of geography on the history of the United States and California.</i>	<i>Knowledge of the major epochs, episodes, events, and turning points that have shaped the history of world civilizations.</i>
Industry in the United States in the early 1800s was centered in the:	The movement that marked a renewal of European interest in Greek and Roman art, literature, and learning was the:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. South b. West c. Mississippi Valley d. Northeast 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. reformation b. counter-reformation c. Renaissance d. Mercantilism

The focus on critical thinking was arguably the most unique and ambitious component of the eighth grade history exam. Early on, the History-Social Science Advisory Committee formed a critical thinking sub-committee to develop a model of critical thinking skills. Comprised primarily of academics, the subcommittee identified fifteen critical thinking skills and divided them into three groups: “defining and clarifying the problem,” “judging information related to the problem,” and “solving problems/drawing conclusions.” Twelve of these skills became reporting categories for the new history exam.

Figure 3.2: CAP – History-Social Science Critical Thinking Skills¹⁸⁸

I) Defining and Clarifying the Problem	II) Judging Information Related to the Problem	III) Solving Problems/Drawing Conclusions
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Identify central issues or problems 2. Compare similarities and differences 3. Determine which information is relevant 4. Formulate appropriate questions 5. Express problems clearly and concisely 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Distinguish among fact, opinion, and reasoned judgment 2. Check consistency 3. Identify unstated assumptions 4. Recognize stereotypes and clichés 5. Recognize bias, emotional factors, propaganda, and emotional slanting 6. Recognize different value orientations and different ideologies 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Recognize the adequacy of data 2. Predict probable consequences 3. Identify reasonable alternatives 4. Test conclusions or hypothesis

After failing to locate such items in their survey of other state tests, the Advisory Committee formed a critical thinking/writing subcommittee to develop and train others in creating critical thinking questions. These items were clearly distinguished from the “knowledge questions.” They featured more nuanced, and detailed reading. Some of these questions revolved around historical topics and most included a graphic or artifact for analysis – a quote, political cartoon, map, or table. For example, the test measured the reporting category, “Recognize bias, emotional factors, propaganda, and semantic slanting,” by asking students to recognize the point of view from an excerpt from George Bancroft’s History of the United States, published in 1858 (Figure 3.3).

Initially, the Department of Education’s Office of Program Evaluation and Research reported CAP test results by percent correct. In order to compare test results across forms, subjects, and time, the office began converting results into scaled scores in 1980. Scaled scores ranged from 100 to 400 and were assigned an “anchor value” of 250 for the first year of testing in any new subject area.¹⁸⁹ In the second year of implementation, 1986, history-social science test scores dropped in all categories to an

Figure 3.3: Sample Critical Thinking Questions¹⁹⁰

<p>Reporting Category: <i>Recognize bias, emotional factors, propaganda, and semantic slanting.</i></p> <p>“The Americans who died at the Battle of Lexington are the village heroes who were more than of noble blood, proving by their spirit that they were a race divine. They gave their lives in testimony to the rights of mankind.”</p> <p>Which of the following persons would you expect to have said the above?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> an American sympathetic to the British an American sympathetic to the Colonists a British member of Parliament a French person who did not favor one side over the other 	<p>Reporting Category: <i>Formulate appropriate questions</i></p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div data-bbox="849 373 1081 615"> <p>Central Europe in 1935</p> </div> <div data-bbox="1105 373 1344 615"> <p>Central Europe in 1949</p> </div> </div> <p>Which of the following questions might lead to a better understanding of the relationship between these two maps?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5 <input type="radio"/> Who is the present political leader of Poland? 11 <input type="radio"/> What are the main differences between the governments of Hungary and Rumania? 11 <input type="radio"/> Is Czechoslovakia a major world power? 70 <input checked="" type="radio"/> What happened in central Europe between 1935 and 1949?
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overall score of 243. However, during the next four administrations, scores rose steadily to 253 in 1988 and 258 in 1989.¹⁹¹

In 1984, the Department of Education began publishing a yearly *Performance Report for California Schools*. These reports featured dozens of “quality indicators” – both outputs such as CAP results, SAT scores, drop-out and graduation rates, and, inputs like school budgets, class sizes, school facilities, and instructional quality. As part of its accountability program under CAP, the Department of Education published test results, established target levels to monitor school performance, and set goals for improvement. Beginning in 1985, high performing or improving schools could apply to participate in the “California School Recognition Program.” The program awarded schools in various categories with public acknowledgement at an annual awards ceremony. This incentive, as described by the Department’s Public Relations Office, was intended “not only as a reward for achievement, but as a motivation for others to

strive for excellence.” It also supported the program’s primary objectives to “increase local awareness of and participation in schools” and “promote replication of successful educational models and practices.”¹⁹²

By the end of the decade, the Department of Education began focusing attention on “more authentic assessments.” Determined to limit multiple choice testing, it added an eighth grade writing exam to the California Assessment Program in 1987 and another in twelfth grade the following year. In 1989, the state’s annual report on assessment argued “performance assessments”- tests that had students “write, speak, do research, work cooperatively, solve problems, create, and experiment” - were needed in order to measure the types of conceptual understandings featured in the newly expanded state frameworks.¹⁹³ That same year, the Department of Education sponsored two assessment conferences - vividly named, “*Beyond the Bubble*”: 1989 Curriculum/Assessment Alignment Conferences - to raise awareness about performance assessments and to spur their development. By the end of 1989, CAP advisory committees had field-tested portfolio projects for English-language arts and math, in addition to history–social science writing assignments for sixth and twelfth grade.

Republican Governor George Deukmejian interrupted the ambitious expansion of the California Assessment Program on September 30, 1990, when he vetoed its re-authorization. The Governor’s veto, one of his final acts in office, resulted from a funding dispute with Democrats in the state legislature. However, it served as a reminder for State Superintendent of Public Instruction Bill Honig - who had clashed

with Deukmejian over the Department of Education's budget for years - that the state's chief executive ultimately controlled the Department's purse strings. The abrupt end of CAP, however, marked only a blip in state testing as a new, and even more ambitious assessment program would soon take its place.

The California Learning Assessment System: "Beyond the Bubble"

Just over a year after Deukmejian vetoed funding for CAP, Governor Pete Wilson signed into law Senate Bill 662, establishing a new state testing program: the California Learning Assessment System (CLAS). The bill called for state tests in fourth, fifth, eighth, and tenth grade, with history-social science included in all but the fourth grade exams. Picking up where CAP left off, the new program sought to limit multiple choice items and increase performance assessments in every subject across all grade levels. Honig and Wilson supported the new program, but for different reasons. Honig saw CLAS as an extension of CAP, and an opportunity to further align state assessment with curriculum frameworks, which the bill specifically mandated. Wilson signed SB 662 primarily because of its call for an assessment system that provided test scores for individual students. Wilson wanted scores individualized in order to introduce more accountability into the state education system and as a basis for merit pay of public school teachers.¹⁹⁴ Honig and Wilson would not need to square their differences over CLAS. In February 1993, Honig resigned after being found guilty on conflict of interest charges over \$300,000 in Department of Education contracts with a non-profit organization aimed at increasing parent involvement in public education, and run by his wife.

As Suzanne Wilson noted in her history of California math reforms, many people in the State Department initially referred to the CLAS program as “CAP 2.”¹⁹⁵ In history-social science, there was certainly overlap between the two programs. Many of the same actors who had served on the CAP Advisory Committee were active in developing CLAS, such as Todd Clark, Jean Claugus, Pat Geyer, Dianne Brooks, Carol Marquis, and Francie Alexander. This “cadre” as Andrew LaSpina referred to them, had also served on the 1987 History-Social Science Framework Committee.¹⁹⁶ Before SB 662 even got to Wilson’s desk, the CAP advisory committee had piloted sixth and seventh grade assessments aligned with the 1987 framework. They had also created a network of regional and district contacts of history-social science educators across the state to develop new history assessments.

The CLAS development team consisted of eighty people split into grade level committees. Similar to the CAP, the CLAS team field-tested items first in single schools and districts. A twelve person treatment review panel, with the help of testing experts from McGraw-Hill, ETS and Far West Laboratories (WestEd), then evaluated items for bias, reliability, and alignment with the *History-Social Science Framework*.¹⁹⁷ The CLAS assessments also consisted of large pools of items divided into different test forms. Following the guidelines established by the CLAS Assessment Policy Committee, the tests contained multiple choice, short answer/constructed responses, and performance assessments, which for history-social science meant essays (Figure 3.4). These three types of items accounted for about twenty-five, thirty-five and forty percent of a test’s score respectively.

Figure 3.4: Sample Items – 5th Grade CLAS Exam¹⁹⁸

Multiple Choice	Short Answer (map not included)	Essay
<p>How did the transcontinental railroad, completed in 1869, change life in the United States?</p> <p>a. Fewer settlers came to California.</p> <p>b. It became easier for Americans to trade with Canada and Mexico</p> <p>c. Communication between east and west coasts of the United States improved.</p> <p>d. The Pony Express expanded to become a booming business.</p>	<p>The original thirteen colonies can be divided into three groups: the New England Colonies, the Middle Colonies, and the Southern Colonies. On the map above, shade the area covered by one of the three groups of colonies and label it. Then, write a paragraph about the colonies you shaded</p> <p>In your paragraph, you might tell:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Where the people who settled there came from • Why they came • What the geography and climate of the area was like • How the people made a living • The religious beliefs of the people who settled there 	<p>In history, important things happen that cause other things to happen. This is very plain when we talk about events leading to the American Revolution.</p> <p>Study the timeline below.</p> <p>-1773 – Boston Tea Party -1774 – Intolerable Acts -1775 – Battles of Lexington and Concord -1776 – Declaration of Independence</p> <p>Circle two events on the timeline and write a short essay about them, using your knowledge of history. Be sure to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Describe each event. • Explain how the events are related to each other • Explain how the events are related to the American Revolution

Figure 3.5: Sample Items – 10th Grade CLAS Exam¹⁹⁹

Multiple Choice	Short Answer	Essay
<p>Mohandes Gandhi and Martin Luther King both sought to</p> <p>a. overthrow established governments in order to promote their goals</p> <p>b. achieve political and social reform through non-violent civil disobedience</p> <p>c. gain election to national political office as a means of making changes in society</p> <p>d. promote formation of a separate state to escape prejudice and discrimination</p>	<p>Identify the three pieces of information below, and explain the relationship between them in one or two paragraphs. Add other appropriate historical information in your answer.</p> <p>Nationalism Sarajevo World War I</p>	<p>Some argue that the Treaty of Versailles laid the basis for World War II. Do you agree or disagree? Explain your position with historical evidence.</p>

The scoring of exams took place over the summer at county offices of education. Scoring teams consisted primarily of teachers who used rubrics created by the advisory committee and Far West Laboratories. Teams used a three point rubric to grade short answers and six point-point rubric for essays divided by three criteria: development of historical ideas, historical accuracy, organization and communication. Scores were then reported by performance categories corresponding to rubrics levels.²⁰⁰

The first state-wide implementation of CLAS occurred in the spring of 1993. Students took math and language arts assessments in fourth, eighth, and tenth grade. The history-social science development committee conducted further field-testing of tenth grade exams that year and in 1994, the second year of CLAS testing, implemented the first official history-social science exam to fifth graders across the state. Plans to conduct state wide tests in eighth and tenth grade the following year were cut short, however, when Governor Wilson vetoed the reauthorization of CLAS in September 1994, ending the Department of Education's attempt to conduct state-wide performance assessments after only two years.

Several accounts have detailed the California Learning Assessment's early demise. Narratives by Kirst and Mazzeo, McDonnell, and Wilson share the same litany of reasons for Wilson's veto.²⁰¹ These narratives often begin at the same starting point. Shortly after the English-language arts and math tests in 1993, a number of conservative advocacy groups – such as the Traditional Values Coalition from Anaheim, the Capitol Resources Institute (an affiliate of the national Focus on the

Family Institute), and Phyllis Schafly's Eagle Forum - led a small but vocal group of parents in protesting the content of the 1993 English exams. As Lorraine McDonnell described, groups attacked items featuring passages by Richard Wright, Dick Gregory, and Maxine Hong Kingston and claimed they promoted "inappropriate values such as violence and the questioning of authority."²⁰² Groups further argued that questions asking students to discuss their values and beliefs, and write about personal, family experiences were too invasive of privacy. By refusing to release any test forms, the State Department only fueled criticisms and rumors about the CLAS exams. By 1994 there were multiple lawsuits filed against the state in district courts over CLAS.

Beyond test content, critics also questioned the rigor of some of the performance assessments – in particular, items on the elementary exams that asked students to draw pictures, or questions at all grade levels that focused on what students felt, rather than what they knew. California's dismal performance on the 1994 NAEP exams, where the state ranked well below national averages in math and forty-ninth in reading, seemed to confirm these charges. Vocal opponents of CLAS began questioning not only the tests, but also the state frameworks – English-language arts and math in particular. Critics such as Marion Joseph, a member of the State Board of Education and Williamson Evers of Stanford's Hoover Institute denounced the English curriculum for its promotion of "whole language" instruction – in particular, its focus on student expression and personal meaning, rather than decoding and syntax – and the math framework for emphasizing conceptual and constructivist approaches to problem solving. Both subject frameworks, critics claimed, downplayed basic,

fundamental skills – such as learning to spell, using traditional grammar, and performing basic math skills.

Added to this political upheaval, technical issues plagued CLAS from the start. First, only forty-two percent of the 1993 math and language arts tests were scored.²⁰³ The State Department claimed this was due to a lack of sufficient funds; nonetheless, it was well below the number of tests they hoped to score and far from Wilson's objective of individual results for all students. Furthermore, critics questioned the reliability of human scoring panels using rubrics to assess constructed responses

In spring of 1994, Democratic Senator Gary Hart, the primary sponsor of SB 662, introduced several modification to the bill for its re-authorization: these included limiting questions that dealt with students' values and beliefs, involving parents on development teams, creating an additional oversight committee, and adding questions focused on basic skills. Unconvinced, Wilson vetoed the re-authorization in October. Two months later, Republicans won the control of the state assembly for the first time in forty years and began re-writing the state's curriculum and assessment laws.

Debates over English and math overshadowed and ultimately derailed the history-social science CLAS assessments. To some extent, this was due to the history tests' alignment with the 1987 *History-Social Science Framework*. The history framework's centrist orientation provided cover as conservatives attacked other state frameworks promoting progressive, constructivist pedagogy. The fifth grade test, moreover, lacked the more controversial CLAS activities, such as drawing pictures, or participating in group problem-solving activities. And, although California students took the NAEP history exams, the results, unlike math and reading, were not

disaggregated by state. In 1994, there was no national indicator to suggest a state crisis in history achievement. Nonetheless, Wilson's veto signaled the end to over ten years of work developing state history exams. CAP and CLAS materials would soon be forgotten as the state moved from systemic to standards-based reforms.

The Assessment of Academic Achievement Act: From Systemic to Standards-Based Reform

As Michael Kirst and Lisa Carlos described, Governor Wilson's veto of CLAS signaled an era of "retrenchment" for the Department of Education.²⁰⁴ Throughout 1995, Republican lawmakers introduced a series of "back to basics" education bills to curb what critics perceived as the excesses and shortcomings of performance based, systemic reform. In the process, much of the decision-making authority that Bill Honig had established in the State Department diminished. Of these bills, the Assessment of Academic of Achievement Act, signed into law in October of 1995, had the most far-reaching impact on public education in California. The law buried the previous two testing regimes and laid the foundation for the state's present system of standards-based accountability.

The Assessment of Academic Achievement Act was in several ways a clear repudiation of CLAS. The new law called for tests that "first and foremost, provide information on the academic status and progress of individual pupils to those pupils, their parents, and their teachers." The focus on individualized scores marked an end to the broad objective of "program evaluation" and reflected two new, primary goals for state assessment. First, as stated in the legislation, test results were "to help students, parents, and teachers identify individual academic strengths and weaknesses in order

to improve teaching and learning.” Second, they were “to determine the effectiveness of school districts and schools, as measured by the extent to which pupils demonstrate knowledge of fundamental academic skills.” The new law also stressed “basic academic skills” –defined as “reading, spelling, written expression, and mathematics that provide the necessary foundation for mastery of more complex intellectual abilities, including the synthesis and application of knowledge.”²⁰⁵ It charged districts with testing basic skills throughout all grade levels using state approved tests. Nowhere did the new law mention critical thinking or performance assessment.

The Academic Achievement Act did however promote more than just “the basics.” Although it never mentioned performance assessment, the law called for tests of “applied academic skills” at grades four, five, eight, and ten. These tests were to “require pupils to demonstrate their knowledge of, and ability to apply, academic knowledge and skills in order to solve problems and communicate.” Such an assessment, the statute read, “may include, but is not limited to, writing an essay response to a question, conducting an experiment, or constructing a diagram or model.” While these formats constituted performance-like assessments, the legislation stressed, in a clear reaction to CLAS, that “applied academic skills may not include assessments of personal behavioral standards or skills, including, but not limited to, honesty, sociability, ethics, or self esteem.”²⁰⁶ Moreover, tests were to measure the “academic knowledge and skills” in new content and performance standards, rather than curriculum frameworks. In fact, once adopted by the State Board, the standards would align assessments, textbooks, instructional materials, professional development, and even future editions of frameworks.

A state audit of CLAS published in the summer of 1994 reported that test development teams consisted primarily of teachers, but did not include many members of the general public, in particular parents.²⁰⁷ The audit also concluded that the development process for CLAS exams, although subject to different levels of review, lacked adequate oversight by an external body. The Assessment of Academic Achievement Act addressed both of these issues. First, it created the Statewide Pupil Assessment Review Panel, a 6-member committee appointed by the governor and state legislature to review all state assessments and mandated that at least half the panel consist of parents with children in public schools. It also called for the Superintendent of Public Instruction to make sample questions from all tests available to the public and mandated that the state report test results “in a timely manner,” within the same academic year that it administered tests. Finally, the law changed the CLAS and CAP system of in house test development by mandating the award of assessment contracts to “a commercial publisher or any other public or private entity, other than the State Department of Education.”²⁰⁸

Overall, the Assessment of Academic Achievement Act was system-changing legislation. Replacing frameworks with new standards marked an end to the Department of Education’s systemic reforms developed since 1983. Moreover, most decisions about standards and standards-based assessments moved from the State Department to the State Board of Education and committees and commissions appointed primarily by the Governor and legislature. Within this sea change, one primary line of continuity with CLAS endured – calls for a matrix test of applied skills at grades four, five, eight, and ten, with history-social science tests included in fifth,

eighth, and tenth grade.

The Academic Standards Commission's Diminished Influence

As initial steps in developing new state tests, the Assessment of Academic Achievement Act called for the Academic Standards Commission to create first content and then performance standards for math, English, science, and history-social science. Content standards, according to the statute, meant discipline specific, grade level “knowledge, skills, and abilities” that all students should acquire. Performance standards were to “define various levels of competence”²⁰⁹ and “gauge the degree to which students, schools, and districts “met the content standards.” The Standards Commission, however, got bogged down in fights over content standards. Two years into their work, having only created content standards for math and English, the commission turned its attention to performance standards at the beginning of 1998, while still working on content standards for science and history-social science. The commission formed a performance standards committee to work alongside the science and history committees.

Executive Director of the Academic Standards Commission Scott Hill noted in a memo to the performance standards committee before its first meeting that performance standards were crucial for creating new standards-based tests.²¹⁰ Hill outlined the work he envisioned for the committee, which included identifying performance levels, naming and providing descriptions of them, creating sample test items for students to demonstrate achievement, collecting student work indicative of different achievement levels, and providing criteria for evaluating work.

Almost immediately, the commission's work on performance standards proved difficult. First, commission members questioned their ability to develop standards for all grade levels by January 1, 1999 – the sunset date for the commission's work. Moreover, they disagreed over what exactly performance standards entailed. The more conservative members of the commission such as Williamson Evers, Lawrence Siskind, and LaTanya Wright believed these standards, at a minimum, only needed to identify different performance levels. Others, such as Robert Calfee, Judy Coddling, and Raymund Paredes, sided with Hill's understanding of more robust performance standards and believed the commission was obligated to develop assessments, collect student work, and establish criteria for setting performance standards. At a joint meeting of the Standards Commission and the State Board of Education on February 10, board members spoke out against this level of involvement and claimed that developing assessment items and criteria was not the commission's responsibility and should be handled by a test contractor. Without clear direction, the Performance Standards Committee determined to continue its work and made plans for developing assessments and collecting student work for the English-language arts content standards. On May 18th, Governor Wilson, concerned that the commission would develop assessments similar to CLAS exams, intervened and called for the end of the commission's work on performance standards. Wilson recommended that the State Board of Education, which he noted had "the policy making responsibilities for developing and implementing a standards-based accountability system," finish the work on performance standards.²¹¹

In the end, Academic Standards Commission fulfilled its charge by simply

recommending performance levels for all subjects: advanced, proficient, basic, below basic, and far below basic. For many on the commission, this was disappointing and marked, as Scott Hill remembered, a missed opportunity to guide assessments of the content standards.²¹² In its final report, the Academic Standards Commission recommended that multiple assessment tools be used “to test the rigor and richness of the standards, but also to ensure that the full range of student learning of the standards is revealed by the data.”²¹³ This recommendation, as well as clearly defined performance, would remain elusive, as the content standards became locked into the state’s new accountability system.

Accountability: The STAR Program

In the spring of 1998, as the Standards Commission discontinued its work on performance standards, students took state administered achievement tests for the first time since 1994. The previous fall, Governor Wilson signed into law Senate Bill 366, which established the Standardized Testing and Reporting Program (STAR). The bill retained many of the mandates laid out in the Assessment of Academic Achievement Act, but changed testing requirements. It called for state testing at grades two through eleven in reading, language, and math, and testing in science and history-social science in grades nine through eleven. In November of 1997, the State Board adopted the nationally-norm referenced Stanford 9 test as the preliminary state assessment for the STAR program with the understanding that new tests would be developed once the Board adopted new content and performance standards.

The implementation of the Stanford 9 tests, somewhat ironically, marked the largest increase ever for state history-social science testing in California. Never before had the subject been tested at three different grade levels. In the first year of testing over 1.2 million California students took the Stanford 9 social science tests. However, unlike the CLAS and CAP tests, the Stanford 9 was an “off the shelf,” nationally norm-referenced exam. Developed by the Texas based Harcourt Education Measurement, these tests consisted entirely of multiple-choice questions. Student scores were reported as percentiles of national averages, and could be compared across classrooms, schools, and school districts. However, the tests did not align with either the *History-Social Science Framework*, or the content standards. In fact, according to both documents, 9th grade was an elective year, without a specific history-social science curriculum. Nonetheless, students took the Stanford 9 tests for four years, from 1998 to 2001. As is often the case with new testing regimes, statewide scores, after a disastrous first year where the majority of students scored below the twenty-fifth percentile, rose and leveled off just below the national average.

Although the Assessment of Achievement Act was a closely contested bill in the State legislature, California’s move towards standards-based accountability gained bi-partisan support in the years following its passage. Senate Bill 376 passed with strong majorities in both the State Senate and Assembly. And, on April 6, 1999 Democratic Governor Grey Davis, in one of his first acts in office, signed into law Senate Bill 11X, the Public Schools Accountability Act (PSAA), passed with overwhelming legislative support.

The PSAA, similar to the Department of Education's accountability program in the 1980s, called for an accountability system based upon indicators, performance levels, and incentives. However, the new program focused more on test results and included much stronger incentives, both positive and negative. The Public Schools Accountability Act created three primary policy instruments: the Academic Performance Index (API); the Immediate Intervention/Underperforming Schools Program, and a Governor's High Achieving/Improving Schools Program. The API was a single number between 200 and 1000 used to measure and rank school achievement. The law stated that test scores, both the Stanford 9 - and, or, other assessments developed by the state in the future - should account for sixty percent of the index and suggested that graduation and attendance rates account for the rest. It also called for the State Board of Education to "prescribe" that schools achieve, at a minimum, an annual five percent growth in their API. Incentives for schools to achieve growth targets included, as part of the Governor's High Achieving Program, awards of distinction and monetary rewards of up to \$150 per student.²¹⁴ Illustrating a more perverse incentive, schools falling short of their targets were eligible for \$50,000 in categorical funding to develop and implement an improvement plan under the Immediate Intervention/Underperforming Schools Program. The program also defined various sanctions for chronically under-performing schools – these included replacing administrators, transferring teachers, and reorganizing or even closing schools.

The Public Schools Accountability Act turned the STAR program into what Jennifer O'Day refers to as an "outcomes-based bureaucratic model of accountability."²¹⁵ Unlike the state's accountability policies of the 1980s, which

included input variables such as school facilities and teacher experience, the new system focused primarily on test scores. Moreover, it combined scores with high stakes consequences aimed at influencing classroom instruction to help implement state standards and measure student achievement of them.

In 2001, Grey Davis re-authorized the STAR program by signing into law Senate Bill 233. The statute reified the primary elements of the program, namely testing at all grades, from second to eleventh, but called for the development of new California Standards Tests to replace the Stanford 9 and “measure the degree to which pupils are achieving the academically rigorous content standards and performance standards.” The new tests were to include an elementary or middle school history-social science exam; however, the re-authorization no longer included history-social science in its list of “curriculum areas” tested between ninth and eleventh grade. It also cut the “obsolete provisions” of the Academic Achievement Act for adopting tests of “applied academic achievement” in grades four, five, eight, and ten. Instead the statute called for two writing assessments of “applied academic skills” – one in elementary grades, and one for middle school or junior high. Finally, the law established three primary criteria for the State Board in approving a testing contract: the contractors ability to “produce valid, reliable individual pupil scores,” disaggregate results by different school demographics, and “ensure alignment” between the assessments and states content and performance standards.²¹⁶

The California Standards Tests for History-Social Science

In early 2002, the State Board of Education awarded the contract for all California Standards Tests to the Educational Testing Service (ETS). Harcourt Educational Measurement, publisher of the Stanford 9, had developed standards-aligned tests for math and English-language arts in 1999 and had piloted ninth, tenth, and eleventh grade history-social science exams in 2001. However, the Board decided that ETS, who under-bid Harcourt for the contract, was better suited for fulfilling the criteria of Senate Bill 233. After awarding the contract, the State Board authorized ETS to develop history-social science tests for eighth, tenth, and eleventh grade.

The Department of Education began administering the current testing program for history-social science in the spring of 2003. The eighth grade test contains seventy-five multiple choice questions aligned with the content and analysis standards for sixth, seventh, and eighth grade, while the tenth grade and eleventh grade tests each include sixty multiple choice questions to assess the tenth and eleventh grade standards respectively. Results of these tests, as approved by the Board of Education, initially accounted for twenty percent of the state's Academic Performance Index. However, the advent of federal testing mandates under No Child Left Behind (NCLB) and the implementation of the new high school exit exam, diminished the weight of the history-social science to approximately eight to fifteen percent of the API. Moreover, history-social science test results do not figure directly into the Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) formula for school achievement as measured under NCLB.

ETS reports scaled scores for the California Standards Tests ranging approximately from 155 to 600. For example, a student's raw score of 41 on the 2008

Figure 3.6: 2007 11th Grade Cut Scores and Proficiency Levels²¹⁷

Raw Score	Scaled Score	Proficiency Level
0-17	150-269	Far Below Basic
18-24	270-299	Below Basic
25-35	300-349	Basic
36-45	350-400	Proficient
46-60	401-600	Advanced

eleventh grade history test equated to a scaled score of 378. ETS also establishes cut scores to identify proficiency levels (Figure 3.6). In 2007, proficient level scores ranged from 350-400.²¹⁸ To achieve this score, students needed to answer approximately sixty percent of the test questions correctly. Over the past six years, student performance on the California history tests has improved steadily. In 2003, 27% of the state's eighth and tenth graders tested at proficient or above; in 2009, the percentage of students testing at these levels rose to forty-two percent and thirty-eight percent respectively. In 2003, thirty-four percent of California's eleventh graders achieved levels of proficiency; this number rose to forty-four percent in 2009. State wide average scaled scores have risen in all grades during this time, from 321 to 340 in eighth, 317 to 329 in tenth, and 329 to 338 in eleventh.²¹⁹

Test Development

The primary bank of history-social science items was created between 2003 and 2005. The development of the California Standards Tests is on-going, however, with new questions developed every year. This process has been conducted largely outside the Department of Education. Testing companies worked as consultants on both the CAP and CLAS exams. For the STAR program, ETS has assumed most of the responsibilities for test development, with the Department of Education

collaborating primarily through revision and oversight. To begin, ETS developed and the State Board of Education approved “testing blueprints” (appendix A) for the three exams. The blueprints divided the *History-Social Science Content Standards* into thematic “reporting clusters” and allocated numbers of questions for each cluster. For example, the 11th grade U.S. History test includes five reporting clusters: *Foundations of American Political and Social Thought* (ten items), *Industrialization and the U.S. Role as a World Power* (thirteen items), *United States Between the World Wars* (twelve items), *World War II and Foreign Affairs* (twelve items), and *Post-World War II Domestic Issues* (thirteen items).

According to its annual technical reports, ETS recruits and trains teachers with at least three years of experience working with the California content standards to write test questions. Items are then revised or eliminated during a three part internal review. First, content assessment specialists evaluate the difficulty of each item, its accuracy, readability, and “match” to the content and cognitive level of the standard it measures. Next, editors check items for “clarity, correctness, and appropriateness of language.” Finally, staff members conduct a “sensitivity review” to check questions for bias or potentially offensive language.²²⁰

Following internal reviews, ETS presents all new test items to the Department of Education and California’s Assessment Review Panel for History-Social Science. John Burns worked as the Department of Education’s primary coordinator for the STAR history-social science tests from 2000 to 2007. He revised testing blueprints, reviewed all test items, and helped staff run the Assessment Review Panel, the state’s primary over-sight and influence on the exams. During these years, the panel

consisted, on average of between twelve and seventeen “educators, including county and district education administrators; university and college subject-matter specialists; and representatives of major educational organizations.”²²¹ Members were selected by ETS in consultation with Burns, and approved by the State Board of Education.

The primary responsibility of the Assessment Review Panel, according to ETS, is to evaluate each test question’s “technical quality, match to the California content standards, match to the construct being assessed by the standard, difficulty range, clarity, correctness of the answer, plausibility of the distracters,” as well as more global issues, including “appropriateness of reading passages and passage difficulty and readability.”²²²

Since 2003, the panel has met four times a year annually in Sacramento to review questions, examine test results, and select items for the Department of Education to release. Panel meeting are not open to the public. In fact, the State Department does not publish meeting minutes or the identities of panel members. This past year, in 2009, the State Department of Education cancelled 3 of the 4 Assessment Review Panel meetings due to cuts in funding. At present, it is unclear if the panel will meet in 2010.

As part of the review process, ETS subjects test items to classical item and item response theory (IRT) analyses. ETS is primarily interested in three statistics: reliability, fairness, and difficulty. All test forms maintain reliabilities of .85 or better. ETS uses differential item functioning analyses (DIF) to examine testing differences between demographic groups, and, drawing from past test results and field-tested items, calculate point-biserial correlations – in this case, the relationship between

students' performance on a single test item with their total test score. For California Standards Tests in other subjects, ETS compares results with California's norm referenced CAT/6 Survey tests to help determine test validity. However, there is no CAT/6 history exam. The only validity tests that ETS runs for history-social science are the internal and panel reviews, where experts and practitioners compare test questions to the content standards they measure.

As a final step in the review process, the Statewide Pupil Assessment Review Panel (SPAR) reviews test items. The panel - a 6 member group created in response to CLAS and appointed by the governor, members of the legislature, and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction - checks items to ensure that "examinees do not receive questions regarding personal beliefs or practices."²²³

Alignment Between Standards and Tests

It is important to note that without access to complete test forms, any analysis of the California Standards Tests is incomplete. However, the test questions released by the California Department of Education suggest that, despite the considerable efforts made to establish test validity, reliability, and fairness, the California Standards Tests for history-social science appear fraught with limitations associated with multiple-choice history tests. First, few of the questions begin to reflect the breadth of each standard's historical content. In 2005, for example, content standard 6.7.8 – "Discuss the legacies of Roman art and architecture, technology and science, literature, language, and law"²²⁴ – was measured, in part, by the following question:

The origins of checks and balances in the United States can be traced to:

- a. the French Republic
- b. the Roman Republic
- c. the Greek Aristocracy
- d. the Aztec Empire²²⁵

The 10th grade test in 2006, moreover, gauged students' ability to "trace the evolution of work and labor, including the demise of the slave trade and the effects of immigration, mining, and manufacturing, division of labor, and the union movement" (content standard 10.3.4),²²⁶ with this test item:

In the nineteenth century, labor unions developed mostly in response to:

- a) increasing unemployment
- b) government ownership of businesses
- c) wages and working conditions
- d) racial and gender discrimination²²⁷

Indeed, such questions reduce the robust historical domains described by the standards to isolated facts.[†]

Further, there is a glaring mismatch between the skills called for in the content standards and those that test items appear to elicit. Members of the Academic Standards Commission purposefully included verbs they intended to represent "the rigorous skills embedded within each standard," such as "analyze," "explain," "discuss," and "understand."²²⁸ However, many of the test questions push students to little more than recognize and associate. Consider, for example, content standard 8.1.2

8.1.2: Analyze the philosophy of government expressed in the Declaration of Independence, with an emphasis on government as a means of securing individual rights (e.g., key phrases such as "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights").²²⁹

[†] There may have been additional items on the 2005 and 2006 tests to assess these standards. Again, without access to complete tests it is impossible to know. It is hard to imagine, however, how two or three multiple choice questions could capture the range of historic knowledge called for in these standards.

Compare this standard with a test item that was used to measure student knowledge of it on the 8th grade test in 2006:

- One goal of the Declaration of Independence was to
- a) establish a new monarchy for the independent states.
 - b) convince the British Parliament to prevent the start of war.
 - c) explain why the colonists felt the need to be free from British rule.
 - d) outline an economic system to raise money for the revolution.²³⁰

The apparent mismatch in cognitive skills and tasks between questions and standard is most pronounced in how the California Standards Tests attempt to measure the analysis skills standards. In 2004, analysis skill CS2 (Grades 10-12) – “Students analyze how change happens at different rates at different times; that some aspects can change while others remain the same; and understand that change is complicated and affects not only technology and politics but also values and beliefs”²³¹ - was assessed on the 10th grade test with the following item:

Which religious group has had the greatest increase in membership due to the increasing immigration from Latin American countries to the United States over the last fifty years?

- a) Catholics
- b) Muslims
- c) Jews
- d) Protestants²³²

Overall, most of the released California Standards Test questions are more closely aligned with content rather than analysis skills. In this regard many of the questions resemble what the History-Social Science Advisory Committee referred to as “knowledge questions” in the 8th grade California Assessment Program exams.

John Burns is candid about the limitations of using multiple-choice testing for history-social science. The California Standards Tests, he acknowledges, “cannot do

much in terms of determining whether a student actually connects anything” and “are very, very limited, because they tend to focus more on recall than anything else.”²³³ Nonetheless, Burns, who has a PhD in history and headed the state historical archives before joining the Department of Education in 1997, has spent years defending the state’s history tests and argues that, although “not perfect,” they are the “best” and “fairest” method for a state-wide history-social science assessment.²³⁴ According to Burns, the State Board of Education never seriously considered including constructed response items for the history-social science exams. This was due primarily to the prohibitive costs of scoring such items. Furthermore, Burns claims that human scoring with rubrics reduces the reliability and fairness of test results, which is unacceptable given the high stakes consequences associated with tests.

The California Standards Tests’ focus on recall of information, however, raises important issues of validity. Many of the 180 test items that the State Department of Education and ETS publish appear to illustrate either what Samuel Messick referred to as “content under-representation” or “construct irrelevant variance.” Where the former describes an assessment that “fails to include important dimensions or facets of a construct,” the latter characterizes test items that are too general and may measure something other than the target skill or understanding.²³⁵ Both are common threats to validity and increase the likelihood of “false positives” where students are considered proficient on standards that they may not begin to understand.

Beyond such issues of validity, perhaps the most troubling characteristic of the California Standards Test is simply the content they feature. The introduction to the *History-Social Science Content Standards* clearly states, “The standards include many

exemplary lists of historical figures that could be studied. These examples are illustrative. They do not suggest that all of the figures mentioned are required for study.”²³⁶ One of the few decisions of the Academic Standards Commission’s History-Social Science Committee made by consensus was to add this statement and to include “e.g.” in front of these lists. Committee members did this out of concern that grade level standards included more information than could be reasonably covered in a school year.²³⁷ Many of the test questions, however, feature these “illustrative” items (Figure 3.7). Such questions make the standards less suggestive and more prescriptive. By focusing on such specific content, they hold teachers and students accountable for the hundreds of figures, groups, events, and phenomena included at each grade level of the standards, which was never the intent of the Academic Standards Commission.

Figure 3.7: California Standards Test Questions Featuring E.G. Information

<p>7.9.7: Describe the Golden Age of cooperation between Jews and Muslims in medieval Spain that promoted creativity in art, literature, and science, including how that cooperation was terminated by the religious persecution of individuals and groups (e.g., the Spanish Inquisition and the expulsion of Jews and Muslims from Spain in 1492).²³⁸</p> <p>What was the Spanish Inquisition (1478–1834)?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) system designed to establish new colonies in the Americas b) the exchange of goods between Spain and Central and South America c) the religious court established to find and punish heretics d) a military campaign to drive the Muslim armies out of Spain²³⁹ 	<p>11.6.4 Analyze the effects of and the controversies arising from New Deal economic policies and the expanded role of the federal government in society and the economy since the 1930’s (e.g., Works Progress Administration, Social Security, National Labor Relations Board, farm programs, regional development policies and energy development projects such as the Tennessee Valley Authority, California Central Valley Project, Bonneville Dam)²⁴⁰</p> <p>What New Deal program employed large numbers of artists and writers during the Great Depression?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) National Recovery Administration (NRA) b) Agriculture Adjustment Administration (AAA) c) Works Progress Administration (WPA) d) National Youth Administration (NYA)²⁴¹
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A discussion of the consequential validity of the California Standards Tests for History-Social Science is beyond the scope of this chapter. To date, no one has conducted any research on how these tests have affected the teaching and learning of history in California's public schools. Nonetheless, these tests appear to reduce the *History-Social Science Content Standards* to a long list of historical names, dates, and facts for memorization – exactly the type of assessment that the Academic Standards Commission's History-Social Science Committee warned against, and the State Department of Education attempted to move beyond with the California Assessment Program in the 1980s and the California Learning Assessment System in the early 1990s.

Conclusions/Discussion

During the latest adoption of the *History-Social Science Framework*, Kirk Ankeney, who has served on the Assessment Review Panel for seven years, frequently commented on the California Standards Tests. At the framework committee's first meeting, he suggested that "those of you who decry the California Standards Test with all of its challenges and faults" should acknowledge "that it's positive our students are tested in history." He went on to argue that No Child Left Behind testing policies have "marginalized" history education, particularly in the elementary grades, and supported adding a statement to the *History-Social Science Framework's* new chapter on assessment indicating that content from the fifth grade American history standards are covered on the eighth grade California Standards Tests for History-Social Science.

Ankeney welcomed more testing, arguing that, “if its important enough to be taught, it is important enough to be tested.”

Ankeney’s comments echo those made by members of the California Council for Social Studies 30 years ago when they advocated for the inclusion of history tests as part of the California Assessment Program. As Jean Claugus, the Legislative Representative for the CCSS in 1981 claimed, “informal inquiries” in the late 1970s “revealed that [state] assessments of reading, writing, and mathematics at the elementary level directed more class time to these subjects and history-social science...began to disappear from the school day.”²⁴² The similarities between Ankeney’s and Claugus’ comments reflect continuity in some of the underlying assumptions of state testing over the past 3 decades: in particular, that assessment policy influences what gets taught in public school classrooms; and, that time allocated for history instruction, particularly at the elementary level has diminished given state testing regimes that focus on math and English-language arts.

Considered against the assumption that testing influences *how* a subject is taught, the case of history-social studies assessment illustrates ways educational reform has changed in California since the early 1980s. The California Assessment Program’s eighth grade history test was part of the state’s attempt to move beyond minimum competency of basic skills, and use testing as a lever to raise expectations for teachers and students by promoting the teaching and learning of “critical, higher-level thinking skills.” The test also reflected the state’s first attempt to align assessment with curriculum frameworks to promote systemic reform. The California Learning Assessment System was a natural extension of CAP. Based upon the

assumption that multiple choice tests could not capture and would not promote the innovative thinking and skills detailed in the much-expanded 1987 *History-Social Science Framework*, the CLAS exams prioritized performance assessment.

The STAR program marked a clear departure from CLAS. The California Standards Tests focus on content knowledge detailed in the *History-Social Science Content Standards*. These multiple-choice tests are designed to have a high degree of reliability and report scores for individual students. Combined with incentives, the purpose of these tests is to insure that teachers are teaching and students are learning the wide expanses of historical content included in the standards. In many ways, these tests resemble the “knowledge questions” that the California Assessment Program attempted to limit and reflect the state’s “back to basics” approach ushered in by the Assessment of Academic Achievement Act.

The story of California’s move from systemic reform to high stakes accountability, as illustrated in state history tests, involved a shift in the center of control for developing policy instruments. Advisory committees consisting primarily of state history educators – teachers, curriculum specialists, district administrators, and academics – developed both the CAP and CLAS exams in a process run largely by the State Department of Education. Many of these educators also helped shape the 1987 *History-Social Science Framework*. The STAR Program departed from this approach. In moving the development process from the Department of Education to the Educational Testing Services, STAR discontinued the substantial influence state educators had on shaping CLAS and CAP assessments, and made their work obsolete. This shift has contributed to some of the tensions and inconsistencies between the

History-Social Science Framework, the *History-Social Science Content Standards*, and the California Standards Tests – a subject we turn to in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Misalignment: Looking Across Cases

The California Department of Education intends for the framework, standards, and tests to work in concert and promote the teaching and learning of history-social science. While the 1987 framework defined a common curriculum for California's public schools, its primary purpose now is to provide guidance for educators to implement the standards. The standards, subsuming one of the 1987 framework's objectives, define the content and skills that all students should learn across grade levels. The California standards tests provide information, however questionable, about student achievement and hold schools accountable for implementing the standards.

In this chapter, I use typologies of policy instruments defined by Schneider and Ingram, and McDonnell to further identify how and why the framework, standards, and tests align, but are also in critical ways at odds with one another.²⁴³ I argue that, rather than work together, symbiotically, to promote history education, these documents present educators with inconsistent, and even antagonistic, strategies and materials to teach and assess history-social science. I then locate sources of these tensions and misalignment by looking across the cases and comparing the different policy actors, rules and procedures, and historical contexts that helped shape the framework, standards, and tests.

Policy Instruments

Both the *History-Social Science Framework* and *History Social Science Content Standards*, on their own, exemplify what Lorraine McDonnell refers to as “hortatory” policy instruments.²⁴⁴ Lacking the authority of mandates or rules, hortatory policy attempts to influence the behavior of its target audience by appealing to values and beliefs. The State Department presents both the framework and standards documents in value-laden terms aimed at persuading teachers and administrators to use and follow them. According to State Superintendent Jack O’Connell, the standards, by establishing high expectations for all students, are “a fundamental tool for creating equality.” Moreover, through teaching the standards, state educators can rest assured they are providing a “world-class education...on par with those in the best educational systems in other states and nations.”²⁴⁵

The framework elaborates on what history-social science educators should value. It opens with a litany of goals aimed squarely at the beliefs of history educators. “We want our students,” it states, “to perceive the complexity of social, economic, and political problems... to differentiate between what is important and what is unimportant...to respect the right of others to differ with them...to take an active role as citizens and to know how to work for change in a democratic society... to understand the value, the importance, and the fragility of democratic institutions...and to care deeply about the quality of life in their community, their nation, and their world.”²⁴⁶ Presumably, the content, skills, and pedagogy described in the framework will produce such well-rounded students.

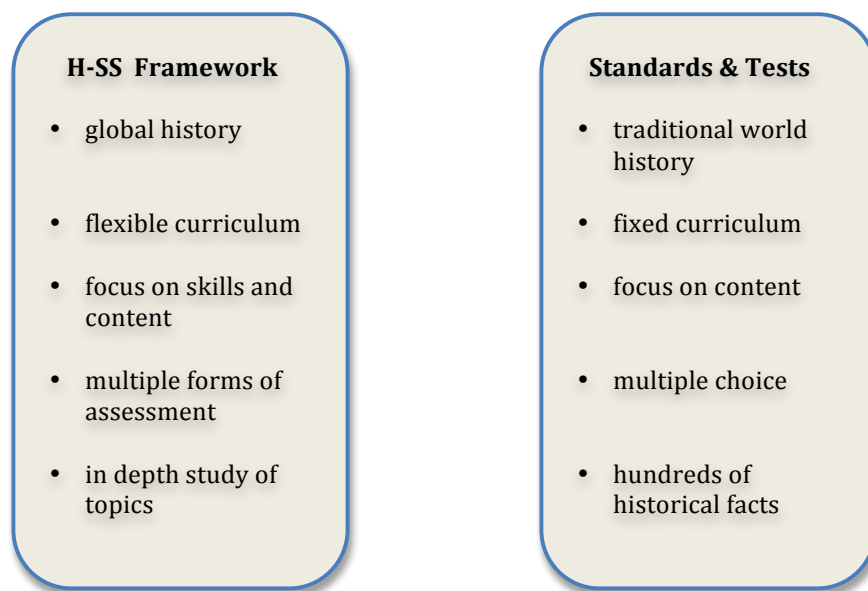
The 2010 framework’s new instruction, assessment, and access chapters are further examples of using persuasion as a policy instrument. These chapters exhort

teachers to adopt best practices – teaching historical thinking, reading, and writing skills; employing a “variety of strategies to meet the needs of their diverse student populations”; and, using multiple forms of assessment.²⁴⁷ They encourage principals to “support rigorous and robust history–social science programs” and claim “central office administrators and school boards must facilitate the principal’s leadership and provide needed resources to promote student achievement in history–social science classes.”²⁴⁸

Such appeals to values and beliefs underscore the fact that both the framework and content standards are suggestive documents. On the inside cover of the standards, just below the publishing information, the Department of Education includes a note emphasizing this point. It reads: “The guidance in the *History-Social Science Content Standards for California Public Schools* is not binding on local agencies or other entities...the document is exemplary, and compliance with it is not mandatory.”²⁴⁹ Additionally, the Education Code states that both state frameworks and standards “shall be designed to serve as a model or example, and shall not be prescriptive.”²⁵⁰

Policy instruments, as McDonnell notes, are often used in conjunction. Linkage between tools results in more robust policy and increases the likelihood of implementation.²⁵¹ The State Department of Education intends to use the new framework - along with textbooks and other instructional materials - to help implement the standards. In this regard, the framework’s purpose is to build capacity and serve as what Schneider and Ingram referred to as a “learning tool” for teachers to develop standards-based instruction.²⁵² California Subject Matter Project writers

Figure 4.1: Sources of Misalignment



have integrated the standards’ content into the new course descriptions; and, the new chapters focus on teaching and assessing the standards. However, while the framework and standards now more closely align, historiographical and pedagogical inconsistencies continue to distinguish the documents. The world history sequences of each, for example, are based upon different conceptions of history. The new framework now presents a global model of world history, where the standards contain something closer to a traditional, multicultural approach. Pedagogically, the framework encourages differentiated instruction with flexible content and focuses equally upon developing skills and content. It stresses the importance of “meaningful,” “age-appropriate” material and encourages teachers to increase the relevance of lessons by giving “students more choices in their topics and assignments.”²⁵³ The standards, however, present a fixed curriculum, which prioritizes content that all students should learn; moreover, the Academic Standards Commission and its History-

Social Science Committee never determined a developmental rationale for what constitutes age-appropriate content. In fact, several commentators during the standards adoption called into question the developmental appropriateness of the standards – the sixth and seventh grade standards in particular. The new framework also stresses multiple forms of assessment and the importance of writing in the history classroom. The standards, of course, link with multiple-choice tests focused on recalling content.

Even if the framework's utility as a learning tool increased through closer alignment with the standards, it remains a hortatory instrument, relying on exhortations of teachers and administrators to adopt its strategies and teach its content. Kirk Ankeney provided a concise description of this approach at the first Curriculum Framework and Evaluation Committee (CFEC) meeting when he noted that “we have it within our authority to suggest.” Throughout the meetings, he regularly encouraged committee members to keep recommendations “positive” and “constructive,” and to avoid “whining” in order “to sell” the framework.

Overall, the relationship between the framework and standards illustrates the linking of two hortatory policies. Nested within a system of high stakes accountability, and given the influence of other more persuasive policy instruments - namely, high stakes tests - this combination may not be that effective.

The California Standards Tests are mandates, required by law. They are incentivized through accountability policies. The alignment of these tests with the standards makes the standards more prescriptive and turns them into mandates - content that must be taught in order to achieve rewards or avoid sanctions. This in turn makes the standards a higher status policy instrument than the framework.

Additionally, the format and content of the tests – multiple choice questions that focus on identifying people, events, and phenomena - increase the tensions between the two curriculum documents. The framework “emphasizes the importance of studying major historical events and periods in depth, as opposed to superficial skimming of enormous amounts of material”²⁵⁴; the standards and tests, however, hold students and teachers accountable for hundreds of historical facts at each grade level.

In all, California’s history-social science framework, content standards, and tests remain misaligned in crucial ways, which may actually undermine rather than promote history education. Why is this the case? As this study suggests, myriad variables shaped these policy instruments. As points of comparison, three general factors emerge that help explain their misalignment: policy actors, institutional rules and procedures, and historical context. While these variables are inter-related, I will attempt to discuss them independently.

Policy Actors

In 1996, Bob Bain, at the time a twenty-four year veteran history teacher, wrote an editorial on the National History Standards. In one of the few commentaries not focused on grinding political axes over the standards’ content, Bain regretted how the national debate over the standards overlooked pedagogy. As he noted, regarding the fallout over the National Standards, “When the political debate fades and pundits lose interest, the real educational questions will remain. What is good history teaching? How should students study history? How do they learn history? What activities best capture the discipline of history?”²⁵⁵

In the spring of 1998 at a public hearing in Pleasanton California on the first draft of the History-Social Science Content Standards, Williamson Evers - a member of the Academic Standards Commission and a research fellow at the Hoover Institute – elaborated on his understanding of the new standards. “The standards,” Evers pointed out, “are not a detailed plan for the classroom...they are a list of what students need to know.” “For those of you who want pedagogy to appear in the standards,” he concluded, “you’re going to be disappointed.”²⁵⁶

Neither Bain nor Evers served on the History-Social Science Framework or Standards Committees. However, their comments and backgrounds are instructive for understanding some of the tensions between the two curriculum documents. Like Bain (whose work is referenced throughout the new framework), the vast majority of actors who helped produce the 2010 framework were teachers and history educators focused largely on pedagogical issues and questions. And, like Evers (who helped edit the history standards), most of the people on the Standards Commission and the Commission’s History-Social Science Committee were administrators, consultants, or academics without expertise in teaching history and whose main concern was identifying and organizing historical content.

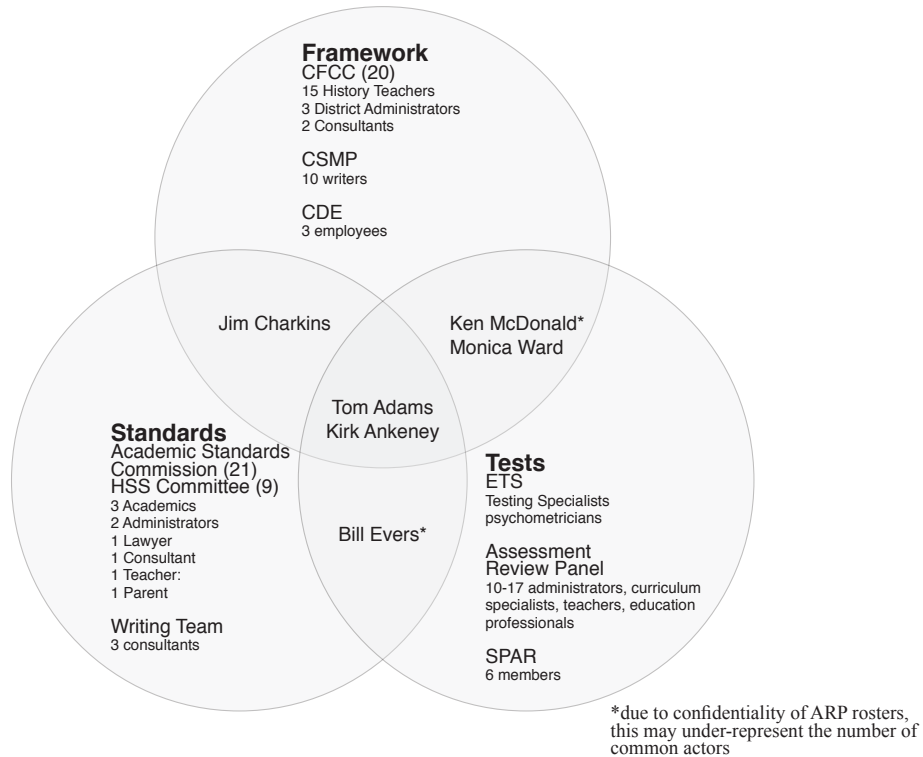
The latest framework adoption included the same types of policy actors that developed the state’s systemic reforms for history education in the 1980s. Both processes featured state history educators working with State Department curriculum consultants to create policy documents. In fact, the role of the California Subject Matter Project in drafting the new framework, which drew more history educators and academics into the process, marked the realization of a Honig-era goal for systemic

reform – namely, bringing together the state’s academic and teaching communities to collaborate on curriculum and help build capacity.

Moreover, certain history teachers, such as Ross Dunn, Tim Kiern, and Amanda Podany, had a significant impact on shaping the new framework – in particular, in developing the new world history course descriptions. These three historians spearheaded the framework’s promotion of global history. Additionally, the small group of progressive and liberal high school teachers who revised the new framework’s American history course descriptions helped create narratives more critical of American institutions and “interests” than those included in the 1987 framework.

The development of the *History-Social Science Content Standards*, on the other hand, featured a different set of policy actors. For one, as mandated, the State Department of Education played a limited role in this process. The Academic Standards Commission worked independently from the State Department. Commission staff planned and ran meetings, developed agendas, and provided materials. The commission itself featured appointments made by political adversaries. The result was a politicized commission and History-Social Science Committee without experts in history education or history teachers. For example, Susan Pimentel, the lead writer for the history-social science standards, was a consultant and political advisor with a background in early childhood education. Furthermore, Republican Governor Pete Wilson and conservative members of the School Board directly

Figure 2: Policy Actors



influenced the standards – the former ending the Commission’s work on performance standards, and the latter making ninety-six edits to the final draft of the standards.

Few common actors worked on both the standards and the framework, almost guaranteeing a misalignment between the two. No members of the Academic Standards Commission ever served on a framework committee. Only one CFCC member, Jim Charkins, contributed to the standards. Charkins provided expert review of the economics standards. Tom Adams worked on revising the final draft of the standards as a staffer in the Department of Education and Kirk Ankeney, who was chair of the Curriculum Commission in 1998, addressed the Academic Standards Commission on multiple occasions during public comment. These three mark the only overlap between the standards and the framework.

Instead of sharing common actors, the two documents more closely resemble the work of antagonists. Ross Dunn's relationship to these documents illustrates this tension. Critical of, and excluded from, the content standards, Dunn was one of the primary authors of the new framework's world history course descriptions – a job he took on, in large part, to develop an alternative to the content standards. Furthermore, CFCC members frequently criticized the standards throughout their meetings. In fact, several committee members stated their hopes of using the new framework to change, rather than help implement the standards.

The development of the California Standards Tests featured still another group of policy actors. Assessment specialists at the Educational Testing Service play the central role in state history testing – from writing and reviewing items, to analyzing testing data. California's Assessment Review Panel for History-Social Science has included actors who served on either the Academic Standards Commission or the 2010 Framework Committee - for example Evers, Ankeney, Adams, Ken McDonald, and Monica Ward, the chair of curriculum commission's history-social science subcommittee. Without access to ARP rosters, however, it is difficult to determine how many people have worked both on the framework or standards and the California Standards Tests. No one from ETS, however, attended any of the recent CFCC meetings or was involved in the development of the content standards. This may help explain why the California Standards Tests feature content that the Academic Standards Commission intended to be optional.

Processes/Institutional Rules

Just as policy instruments are developed by groups of individuals, they are also products of particular institutional environments. Policy actors are selected by and work within processes shaped by rules and customs. Distinct sets of procedures and requirements – from Education Codes to legislative mandates and group norms – guided the development of the framework, standards, and tests.

The State Department of Education has been producing subject-specific frameworks for over forty years. During this time, changes to the Education Code have helped refine the process. The State Department updates every subject's framework every six years, and each adoption lasts for approximately two years. Clearly defined roles and responsibilities guide the interaction between the Curriculum Commission, the CFCC, the State Department, and the Board of Education in drafting, reviewing, and adopting each new framework. Employees of the State Department's Curriculum Division have experimented with and fine-tuned group processes, norms, and consensus-making strategies to shape the CFCC's work. All of these factors contributed to the fact that nearly every committee member attended all five of the CFCC's meetings and that the committee made hundreds of edits to the new framework.

A less clearly defined process produced the *History-Social Science Content Standards*. The Assessment of Academic Achievement Act was ambiguous in regards to both procedure and product. The Standards Commission, without any previous experience and operating outside of the Department of Education, developed its own decision making processes and ultimately determined - with some prodding and oversight from the Governor and State Board of Education - the purpose, content, and

Figure 4.3: Procedures

Framework		Content Standards	Tests
Adoption Cycle			
2 Year Subject Specific Adoption		3 Year Comprehensive Adoption	On Going Development
6 Year Adoption Cycle		1 Adoption	Re-authorized every 5 years
Development Process			
1) Curriculum Commission drafts and SBE adopts guidelines. 2) CSMP and CDE draft framework chapters. 3) CFCC edits and revises multiple drafts; makes hundreds of decisions regarding content and organization. 4) Public Comment 5) Public Review 6) State Board revises and adopts new framework.		1) Standards Commission and History Committee establish guidelines and templates 2) Consultants develop multiple drafts of standards. 3) History Committee makes limited edits and additions. 4) Expert Review/Public Comment 5) Public Review 6) State Board revises and adopts standards.	
		1) ETS develops items. 2) ARP and CDE review and publish items 3) SPAR Panel reviews tests. 4) State Board reviews tests. 5) ETS and Department of Education implement tests. 6) ETS and Department of Education analyze and report test results.	

format of the standards. The State Department of Education's only role in this process was to make small edits to the final draft of the standards before publishing them. Furthermore, the Academic Achievement Act charged the Standards Commission with developing standards for all subjects within one, three-year adoption period. These factors created a situation where history-social science was pushed to the back of the agenda, history committee meetings were sparsely attended, and a very small group of people - none of them history educators or historians- determined history-social

science content standards over the course of nine months with little oversight and no rules for updating or revising their work.

The California Standards Tests are products of what ETS and the State Department of Education present as clearly defined procedures with multiple levels of oversight. However, the entire process, with the exception of some State Board Meetings, is closed. The Education Testing Service's item development and the work of the Assessment Review Panel are highly confidential. No public records of these proceedings exist. This makes it difficult to determine exactly who is developing test items and how this process works. However, in accordance to accountability legislation, test development is geared towards creating reliable, fair, comparable test items that can be reported in a timely manner – mandates that have undoubtedly helped to shape the process.

History Matters

Finally, in all three of these cases, it is impossible to remove policy actors and procedures from their particular historical context - both in terms of contemporary socio-economic and political factors and preceding events that helped shape each policy-making environment.

Several prior and concurrent events influenced the *History-Social Science Content Standards* – in particular, the development of history standards both nationally and in other states, and the Academic Standards Commission's contentious adoptions of the math, science, and performance standards. The ill-fated CLAS exams influenced both the history standards and California Standards Tests. Fallout over

CLAS ended the state's brief experiment with performance assessment and spurred the passage of "back to basics" legislation. Historic state elections of 1994 increased the power of state Republicans, who wrote and passed the Assessment of Academic Achievement Act. This legislation not only shaped the content standards, but also contributed to a shift in decision-making authority from the State Department of Education to the State Board of Education. Finally, it is important to note that California's history standards and tests were part of a larger, national standards-based reform movement. Both developed in the wake of Bill Clinton's re-authorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1994, which required states to develop subject-specific standards and assessments in order to receive Title 1 funds.

The *2010 History-Social Science Framework* adoption was the first full revision of the framework since the adoption of the content standards. This was a primary factor in shaping the new draft. As mandated by the Assessment of Academic Achievement Act in 1995, the framework had to align with the standards. According to State Board guidelines, this meant that the framework's course descriptions needed to integrate all of the content standards and that new chapters on instruction and assessment had to focus on teaching and assessing the standards.

Furthermore, the new framework's focus on "marginalization," and its pleas to administrators to make time for history-social studies education reflect larger, historical trends in education. For the past 10 years, state and national accountability policies have increased pressure on schools and districts to improve reading and math testing scores. The emphasis on reading and math, in turn, has diminished the amount

of time spent on other subjects, including history-social science both in California and across other states.²⁵⁷

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, as the 2010 framework adoption geared up in the fall of 2008, the country and state fell into the most severe economic crises since the Great Depression. Throughout the CFCC meetings, several committee members and public commentators acknowledged the state's deficit and inability of the legislature and governor to pass a budget. No one, however, anticipated Governor Schwarzenegger's line item veto of funding for the Curriculum Commission and the suspension of all textbook adoptions, which in turn suspended the development of the new history-social science framework indefinitely. It is unclear whether the new framework will ever be formally published or if California will continue to adopt textbooks. Overall, the 2008 recession and subsequent budget crisis has left the framework suspended in mid adoption, further diminishing its status in relation to the standards and tests.

California's move from systemic reform to standards-based accountability for history education over the past twenty-five years has created a telling example of what Deborah Stone refers to as "policy paradox."²⁵⁸ The state's primary documents for standards-based history education, rather than working in harmony, send conflicting messages about how and what to teach in the state's history-social science classrooms. The standards and tests may actually undermine the types of teaching and learning described in the history-social science framework.

This is a story of unintended consequences. It does not result, as is often the case with education reform, from policy being misinterpreted, perverted, or ignored as it moves vertically across federal, state, and local levels. Rather, the problematic relationship between the history-social science framework, standards, and tests, reflects a lack of horizontal integration of policy at the state level. This can be attributed, in large part, to the fact that diffuse sets of policy actors with different objectives and assumptions about curriculum and assessment - working in separate institutional and historical contexts, shaped by distinct sets of rules, procedures, and constraints – developed these policy documents.

Chapter 5

Moving Forward

Fifteen years after the National History Standards became fodder in America's protracted culture wars, standards are back in the news. The revision of the Texas history standards in the spring of 2009 by cultural conservatives on the State Board of Education illustrated the often subjective and politically charged nature of standards setting. At the same time, the National Governor's Association (NGA) - the group that helped launch the first wave of standards-based reforms in 1989 - along with the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO) have initiated the "next generation of K-12 standards," this time bearing the name "Common Core Standards." The standards, developed for math and English-language arts, aim to "define the knowledge and skills necessary for students to succeed in "college course and workforce training programs."²⁵⁹

These standards-setting initiatives have drawn strong criticism from both the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) and its affiliate California Council for the Social Studies (CCSS). In response to the Texas Board of Education, the NCSS issued a list of "best practices" for setting history standards. They recommend that "scholars with expertise" and "master social studies educators, who assure that the standards are effective and age appropriate tools with which to organize curriculum, instruction, and assessment" develop state standards.²⁶⁰ Reacting to the Common Core Standards, the California Council for the Social Studies sponsored Joint Resolution 39, introduced in the California Assembly, calling for "the National Governors Association and the Chief State School Officers to replicate the process used to

develop English-language arts and mathematics common core standards to now develop common core state standards for social studies and science.”²⁶¹

Meanwhile, the testing pendulum is once again swinging away from multiple-choice tests. The Obama administration’s “Race to the Top” initiative will award 350 million dollars to fund district and state assessment systems that, as stated in an Education Week column, “leave behind multiple-choice testing more often in favor of essays, multi-disciplinary projects, and other more nuanced measures of achievement.”

As the nation once again rushes forward with a new round of standards-based reforms, this study provides an opportunity to look back at questions raised by earlier reform initiatives. Unresolved issues from the development and interaction of California’s history-social science framework, standards, and tests are more relevant today than ever. In this summary chapter, I highlight questions from these cases that need to be addressed if standards and standardized tests are to be the future of education policy for history-social science.

State Testing

In her latest book “The Death and Life of the Great American School System,” Diane Ravitch laments how high-stakes testing “hijacked” the standards movement.²⁶² Ravitch, echoing what others have long argued, contends that such tests narrow the curriculum, promote teaching to the test, and provide questionable indicators of learning. Accountability testing combined with the sanctions of the No Child Left Behind legislation, Ravitch claims, has actually undermined public education by

turning schools into testing factories where students learn little beyond “how to choose the right option from four bubbles on a multiple choice test.”²⁶³

The California Standards Tests for History-Social Science embody such shortcomings. In fact, these tests appear to fail most standards that groups and organizations have set for state testing systems.²⁶⁴ They align with the *History-Social Science Content Standards* only in the narrowest sense, suffer from questionable validity, and provide one single number to measure student achievement for an entire academic year. In fact, the eighth grade test’s seventy-five multiple-choice items supposedly measure how much learning has gone on in three years of history-social science instruction. As a whole, the California Standards Tests reduce the rich historical domains described in the framework and outlined in the standards to periods of chronologically organized facts. And, gestures toward “analysis” notwithstanding, these tests make committing facts to memory the primary history-social science skill.

What might be the alternative? California’s brief experiment with state performance assessment illustrates many challenges involved in trying to move beyond multiple-choice tests. In short, the questions have not changed that much in the past fifteen years. Is it possible to conduct large-scale, constructed response assessments that are at once reliable, valid, affordable, and individualized? The California Standards Tests have come down on one side of this equation by sacrificing content and construct validity. What are the costs and trade-offs of eliminating one of the other variables? Do tests, for example, scaled at the state level, have to be individualized? Might it be possible to decentralize accountability testing so that districts, once again, play a greater role in assessment?

Affordability has always limited state testing regimes. Given the nearly bankrupt state of the California government, however, it is now the primary constraint in the testing equation. If the Department of Education cannot even find money to publish the *2010 History-Social Science Framework* or update the standards, we may be further away than ever from the kind of sustained research and development required to develop tests that more closely align with state standards. The more likely scenario is that the state legislature or governor will cut funding for the tests in place right now. Rather than considering new assessment systems, an evaluation of how to combine existing resources may provide a more realistic step forward. What are the possibilities, for example, to include history-social science in the state's two writing assessments, or to integrate history into English-language arts testing?

Furthermore, what can California learn from other states? Which, if any, state testing systems are having the best results promoting history-social science education? What are the indicators and characteristics of these programs? One place to start comparing state systems is to disaggregate NAEP history-social science scores, which would establish a common metric for state tests. Currently, the National Assessment Governing Board (NAGB) only reports NAEP history scores nationally.

While the California Department of Education has invested millions into attempting to devise tests with adequate reliability, it has yet to examine how these tests impact classroom instruction - a topic that remains woefully under-researched. Based upon studies in other states and subjects, we can make inferences about how the California Standards Tests for History-Social Science may affect classroom teaching – for example, increasing the amounts of time spent on test preparation, the use of

multiple choice tests in history classrooms, and the pressure for teachers to cover all state standards.²⁶⁵ The only published research on the effects of testing related to the teaching of history-social science in California focus on time allocated for the subject at the elementary and middle school level. Results from a handful of studies indicate that teachers, primarily at the elementary level, have reduced instruction time spent on history/social studies since the implementation of high stakes math and reading/language arts assessments.²⁶⁶

It is clear that high stakes testing in selective subjects promotes instructional time disparities. But this does not necessarily support the perception that a subject has to be tested in order to be taught. Are the California Standards Tests, as many would suggest, the last line of defense staving off further erosion of history education in the state? Given that students must study three years of history-social science in order to graduate, would eliminating the tenth and eleventh grade history tests result in less time for these subjects? We should, at a minimum, question the assumption that a state test is requisite for a subject to receive class time and explore other ways to promote, or balance, instructional time across subjects. And, before deciding on whether to expand or limit state history assessments, we need to develop a clearer understanding of how such tests influence public school classrooms.

State Standards

Despite her revised outlook on accountability testing, Diane Ravitch remains a fierce advocate of standards that identify “what to teach” and continues to call for a national curriculum that defines “the essential knowledge and skills that students

should learn.”²⁶⁷ Like many others, Ravitch holds up California’s history-social science framework and standards as a model for the rest of the country to emulate. In fact, few question these documents. Consider, for example, the premise of a 2008 policy brief published by the non-partisan PACE research center - based at Stanford University, the University of California-Berkeley, and the University of Southern California - on how to improve California’s education system:

California has invested a great deal of effort in defining clear, specific standards for the state’s educational system. Our ambitious grade-level standards set forth a clear statement of what students are expected to know and be able to do as they move through school, and the accompanying curriculum frameworks provide guidance for educators as they work to ensure that all students meet the standards. According to the Fordham Foundation, California is one of only three states with rigorous, coherent standards in all subject areas. The key challenge in California today is to align educational policy and practice more closely with the state’s standards.²⁶⁸

This study, however, paints a different picture. First, both versions of the history-social science framework - the currently suspended 2010 edition and the 2005 edition—remain, in critical ways, misaligned with the standards. The 2005 edition (which retained most of the 1987 framework) does not “provide guidance” for meeting the standards. Rather, its original purpose was to define the *content* for grade level history courses, ostensibly serving the same purpose as the standards. This has resulted in parallel and sometimes warring curriculum documents. Moreover, the 2010 framework, should it ever see the light of day, recommends content and pedagogy that are in direct conflict and competition with the state’s standards and tests. If anything, California’s history-social science framework and standards should provide a cautionary tale for those advocating further rounds of common core standards. Overlapping state curriculum documents are potentially rife with incoherence,

inconsistencies, and confusion.

Furthermore, the claim, blindly accepted by many, that California's history standards embody "essential knowledge and skills" is simply unfounded. The small group of consultants, politically appointed commissioners, and state board members who crafted these standards never devised, or even discussed a rationale for determining what constitutes "essential" historical knowledge. The type of horse-trading that characterized much of the debate over these standards provided a poor substitute. The standards feature content that is political, not necessarily essential. Sometimes elements ended up in the standards for no other reason than to satisfy the interests of organizations such as the Council for Islamic Education or the Jewish Community Relations Council. This is true of many curriculum documents – from the new Texas standards to the California framework's updated eleventh grade American history course descriptions - that focus on historical content rather than history as a discipline that includes unique ways of thinking, reading, and writing. Content is essential for learning history, but we should be wary of any one group or organization attempting to define essential historical content that is fixed for all students at every grade level.

The drafting of the *History-Social Science Content Standards* also shortchanged other, equally important issues – in particular, what constitutes rigorous and developmentally appropriate material. Again, neither the Standards Commission nor the History Standards Committee ever adequately addressed these questions. Instead of developing a consistent rationale or criteria, they attempted to establish rigor and age-appropriate content through poorly defined typologies of verbs and

slightly different amounts of content across grade levels.²⁶⁹ This approach resulted in fifth, eighth, and eleventh grade American history standards and seventh and tenth grade world history standards with little to distinguish them beyond what chronological slice of history they cover. Consider, for example, seventh grade standard 7.6.8 on Medieval Europe and tenth grade standard 10.3.2 covering the

Industrial Revolution:

7.6.8: Understand the importance of the Catholic Church as a political, intellectual, and aesthetic institution (e.g., founding of universities, political and spiritual roles of the clergy, creation of monastic and mendicant religious orders, preservation of the Latin language and religious texts, St. Thomas Aquinas’s synthesis of classical philosophy with Christian theology, and the concept of “natural law.”).

10.3.2: Examine how scientific and technological change and new forms of energy brought about massive social, economic, and cultural change (e.g., the inventions and discoveries of James Watt, Eli Whitney, Henry Bessemer, Louis Pasteur, Thomas Edison).²⁷⁰

These standards, similar to most across these grade levels, include commensurate amounts of material and historical concepts of similar sophistication. Such standards simply do not address that ways of thinking about history may differ for a twelve year old and a seventeen year old.

For over two decades, since the 1987 framework solidified the current scope and sequence of K-12 history-social science education, practitioners have been warning about the amount of history covered at each grade level – in particular the sixth and seventh grade ancient and world history courses. For the most part, both the framework and standards committees ignored these concerns. During the development of the content standards, Lawrence Siskind, the finance lawyer and head of History-Social Science Standards Committee, referred to such critiques as “excuses.” Siskind

claimed - equating rigor with amounts of material - that “teachers as a group were intimidated by standards” that were “too high.”²⁷¹ The 2010 framework acknowledges the “volume and complexity of the standards.”²⁷² However, the new course descriptions, which double the amount world history in sixth, seventh, and tenth grade, only exacerbate the concerns of teachers.

If standards are the future, determining what is essential, age-appropriate, and rigorous material is work that remains to be done. We should begin by disabusing ourselves of the perception that California’s *History-Social Science Content Standards* are a gold standard to emulate and at least begin thinking about alternatives. Finally, if we are to improve, we need more research on how teachers in California actually use state curriculum – precisely the type of information necessary for guiding a revision or updating of the standards.

The story of California’s history-social science framework, standards, and tests sheds light on why education reform is never ending. Just as any reform presents solutions, it also creates unanticipated problems. While this well-worn insight often breeds cynicism, I end on an optimistic note. Teaching history-social science is a challenging endeavor with myriad, seemingly intractable obstacles: underprepared teachers, overcrowded classrooms, limited instructional time, poor access to quality materials, and student perceptions of the discipline as irrelevant and boring, to name just a few. The intent of the framework, standards, and tests is to improve the teaching and learning of history; it is quite possible, however, that these documents have only made the challenge more daunting by adding confusion with conflicting and

unrealistic targets and mandates. Unlike solving the challenges of teacher quality or providing adequate resources across all state schools, the problems of alignment can realistically be addressed without further billion dollar reform initiatives. What they demand are modest but persistent efforts at deliberation, attention, and, most of all, will. What is the potential of better aligned, age appropriate, and intellectually engaging state curriculum for history education? More than twenty-five years into systemic and standards-based reform, we have not come close to finding out.

Appendix

Methods and Materials

My initial research for this project involved approximately two years of fact finding and theory developing activities. In addition to reading across different fields of literature, I began constructing a timeline of events relevant to California's state frameworks, tests, and standards from 1960, the date of the first social-science framework, to the present. I filled the timeline out with information found in materials published by the California Department of Education – for example, annual reports, press releases, information packets and minutes of State Board and Curriculum Commission meetings – along with secondary sources and the state's four major newspapers: the Sacramento Bee, the Los Angeles Times, the San Jose Mercury News, and the San Francisco Chronicle. As this timeline grew vertically with additional events, it also developed horizontally as I began to add detailed descriptions and memos about events and connections between them.

A large part of this early research included content analyses of *the History-Social Science Framework* (1981; 1988; 1997; 2001; 2005), the *History-Social Science Content Standards* (1998), and the 160 released questions from the California Standards Tests (2007, 2008). I examined the organization and format of the standards and tests and, in particular, focused on the skills, understandings, and types, as well as amounts of history included or measured across grade levels. I identified the goals and assumptions of these documents in prefaces and introductions written by members of the State Board of Education, State Superintendents of Public Instruction, and other

Department of Education consultants. Throughout this work, I wrote memos detailing points of agreement, as well as contradictions between the framework, standards, and tests.

I also examined important pieces of education reform legislation -- in particular the *Hughes-Hart Act* (1983), the *Assessment of Academic Achievement Act* (1995), and the *Public Schools Accountability Act* (1998) -- to identify the specific mandates and rules for the development of California's systemic and accountability reforms.

Overall, during this initial period of research, I developed a core of background knowledge about education reform in California over the past quarter of a century, and in particular the state's policies for history-social studies education. I also began lines of analysis that I would continue to explore and develop across the three cases of policy making.

The History-Social Science Framework

Formal research on the 2010 Framework adoption began in January 2009 when I attended the first of five monthly, two-day meetings of the History-Social Science Curriculum Framework and Evaluation Criteria Committee (CFCC). I observed nearly all of the eighty hours the committee worked developing a new framework. While observing, I took notes detailing the process -- focusing in particular on committee rules and procedures, goals and assumptions of policy actors, decisions, and other factors shaping the decision making process. I also paid close attention to how the standards and California Standards Tests influenced or related to the adoption. I wrote

detailed summaries of the proceedings following each meeting. Furthermore, I recorded all meetings and transcribed several sequences of discussions that illustrated decision-making and the perspectives and motivations of different policy actors.

Throughout the CFCC meetings, the Department of Education sold drafts of new framework chapters. Initially, I compared content of the new grade level course descriptions to the 1987 framework, and noted what was changed, retained, cut, or reorganized. I paid attention to the historiography of the new course descriptions, what types of history they presented, and how this compared to 1987 course descriptions.

As the meetings progressed, I compared changes made to subsequent drafts of the new chapters and course descriptions with decisions made by the committee, either as a whole group, or divided into sub-committees of grade level teachers: elementary, middle, and high school. Having recorded most of the meetings, I was able to compare revised drafts of framework chapters to the committee's previous discussions and decisions. This technique helped me determine how many of the committee's edits the writers incorporated and how committee decisions translated into new drafts. It also helped me match rationales and assumptions for specific revisions of draft chapters and provided explanations for why, as committee chair Kirk Ankeney described, "Some things get in, and some don't."

I sat in on all sub-committee work sessions, but spent most of my time observing the high school group, which was particularly active in editing the tenth and eleventh grade course descriptions. I also listed people who addressed the committee during public comment and noted their affiliations and arguments. I transcribed certain public comments that expressed the goals and motivations of different groups hoping

to influence the new framework. Again, I compared suggestions made during public comment to changes in draft chapters to try and determine who and what was influencing the revision process.

Over the course of the six meetings, I met most of the primary actors involved in the adoption: committee members, California Subject Matter writers, and Department of Education consultants, along with the director of the department's Curriculum and Framework Division, Tom Adams. At each meeting, I had several informal conversations with others observing the process: legislative aides; publishing house representatives; lobbyists; and a few gadflies. I conducted eleven formal interviews with actors involved in different parts of the adoption process. I interviewed three CFCC members, two members of the CSMP, three writers of new course descriptions, and three members of the Department of Education's Curriculum and Framework Division. Interviews focused on goals and motivations, perspectives on the development the process, assumptions and understanding regarding the new framework, strengths and weaknesses of the new draft, and people's opinions of the content standards and the California Standards Tests.

From this material, I developed a descriptive account of the framework adoption. My central goal was to document the issues, processes, actors, goals, assumptions, and content involved in the adoption as a case of how state curriculum policy develops, and to establish points of comparison for the framework, content standards, and tests.

The History-Social Science Content Standards

My account of the *History-Social Science Content Standards* is based largely upon previously untouched archived materials found at the California State Archives. During the lunch break of the second CFCC meeting, I walked down to the California State Archives a few blocks from the Department of Education. I had searched the archive's online catalogue and found a file titled "Office files (1996-1998): Commission for the Establishment of Academic Content and Performance Standards." The website had not included any more information about the file. What I found in the state archives far exceeded anything I had anticipated: fifteen boxes of documents related to the work of the Academic Standards Commission. Three of the fifteen boxes contained previously untouched materials related to work of the Commission's History-Social Science Committee: detailed minutes from all of the committee meetings, six different drafts of the history standards with tracked changes marking edits made to each draft, memos from the writing team and committee members regarding changes made to draft standards, over sixty "expert reviews" of different drafts, and full transcripts of five public hearings regarding the history and science standards. The boxes also included press releases and newspaper reports, "fact sheets" on each commission member, and various memos and letters of commissioners, commission employees, and members of the State Board of Education.

After several days spent surveying and photographing these materials, I organized and read the minutes of the nine History-Social Science Committee meetings. I identified the issues discussed and actions taken by the committee along with the roles and contributions of individual committee members. I developed a

timeline of the history standards' development, from the first History-Social Science Committee meeting on November 6, 1997 to the State Board Adoption of the standards on October 9, 1998. As I did with my initial timeline, I filled it with relevant events and detailed descriptions and memos about certain events and connections between them. I also noted the influence of the 1987 framework on the development process, and paid close attention to discussions related to assessment and the development of state tests.

At the same time, I began comparing the six drafts of the content standards. I proceeded chronologically between drafts, memos, and committee meeting minutes to trace the development of the standards – examining what and how committee decisions and suggestions appeared in revised drafts. I used a similar process in comparing expert reviews and public comments with the standards to identify which suggestions and recommendations were incorporated into the standards.

Scheduling interviews about the standards was more challenging than my framework interviews. First, it was difficult to find people, and several refused interviews. For some, I never made it past their secretaries. I did interview the Executive Director of the Standards Commission Scott Hill, former State Superintendent of Public Instruction Delaine Eastin, commissioners Robert Calfee and Judy Coddling, along with Kirk Ankeney, Tom Adams, and Ross Dunn. Interviews focused on the goals and motivations of policy actors, decision-making processes, and opinions on the strengths and weaknesses of the standards. I also asked each participant about their opinions of the framework and content standards. Both Sue Pimentel, the primary consultant and writer of the history standards and Lawrence

Siskind, the chair of the history committee did not respond to multiple requests to be interviewed for this study. I was however able to draw from a short article Pimentel wrote about the development of the history standards that appeared in the Social Studies Review, and comments she and Siskind made about the process that appeared in a Fordham report on the development of state standards.

As I did with the framework, I developed a detailed narrative of the standards adoption. This narrative revolved around points of comparison established in the framework chapter – in particular, the issues, actors, processes, goals, assumptions, and content of the standards. While researching and writing the standards chapter, I continued to write memos about points of alignment and tension between the standards, the framework, and the California Standards Tests.

The California Standards Tests

Although I was interested in a similar set of questions, I had to approach the tests differently than the framework and standards. The development of the California Standards Tests is primarily a closed process. There were no meetings to attend and no public records of past meetings from ETS or the Department of Education. Furthermore, neither ETS nor the State Department publishes complete forms of tests. The Department of Education does, however, produce an abundance of information about the state's Standardized Testing and Reporting Program (STAR). The Department of Education's web site contains testing information for the past ten years, including all school scores, annual reports explaining the STAR program, yearly technical reports on test development and implementation, information guides for

parents and teachers, and 160 sample test questions from previous exams. I used this information to piece together overviews of the eighth, tenth, and eleventh grade state history-social science tests, descriptions of how these assessments operate within the state and federal accountability systems, and how they were developed. I also cut and pasted all of the released test questions with the standards they measured in order to compare how test questions aligned to standards both in terms of content and skills.

In order to detail the development of the California Standards Tests, I relied primarily on technical reports published by ETS between 2004 and 2009. These reports included descriptions of test development along with hundreds of pages of data measuring, amongst other things, the reliability, fairness, and difficulty of test items. I conducted a limited number of interviews about this process, in part, because I struggled to discover who exactly was involved in it. I did interview John Burns who served as the primary consultant in the Assessment Division and oversaw the initial development of the California Standards Tests for History-Social Science between 2000 and 2007. In the course of my research, I realized that Kirk Ankeney, Tom Adams, Ken McDonald, and Monica Ward all served on the Assessment Review Panel. I interviewed each of them about their experiences on the panel.

During this work, I began to focus on the history of state testing, exploring the historical influences on the current STAR program. I compared the STAR program with the state's previous testing regimes – in particular, the California Assessment Program of the 1970s and 1980s and the state's short-lived California Learning Assessment System, which only lasted from 1993 to 1994. I focused on the development and content of the eighth grade CAP history-social science test,

administered between 1984 and 1989, and the fifth, eighth, and tenth grade CLAS exams, which were never fully implemented. I was interested in comparing the formats and goals of these tests with California Standards Tests. The State Department has not archived materials from CAP and CLAS. I located several sample CAP questions, and detailed overviews of their development in annual testing reports published by the Department of Education. The *Social Studies Review*, the California Council of Social Studies quarterly journal, featured special editions on both the CAP and CLAS exams with information about test development and the goals and assumptions of policy actors involved in the development process, along with sample test questions. I also used several CDE publications such as annual “Fact Sheets” and “California Educational Reform” reports for information about these programs, and a detailed audit of the CLAS program conducted by the California Bureau of State Audits.

Notes

Introduction

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